

THE AMERICAN NATION A HISTORY

FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES BY ASSOCIATED SCHOLARS

EDITED BY

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VOL. 7

THE AMERICAN NATION

A HISTORY

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THE AMERICAN NATION : A HISTORY

VOLUME 7

FRANCE IN AMERICA

1497-1763

BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.

SECRETARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

WITH MAPS



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TO
MY WIFE

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

IN laying out a series like *The American Nation*, one of the fundamental difficulties is to bring into its proper relations the French colonies and their influence on the British settlements. Beginning simultaneously with the earliest English colonization, the French colonies, except in Maine and Acadia, were during their whole history separated from the English by immense expanses of trackless forest. Hence it is not until well into the eighteenth century that the two parallel threads of neighborhood colonization are really intertwined.

It has seemed wise, therefore, to treat French colonization as a continuous episode, especially because so far in this series there has been no account of the French colonies, except the chapter on commercial companies in Cheyney's *European Background* (vol. I. of *The American Nation*), the chapter on the Florida settlements in Bourne's *Spain in America* (vol. III.), a brief chapter on Colonial Neighbors in Tyler's *England in America* (vol. IV.), and the chapters on the English and colonial side of the border wars from 1689 to 1713 in Greene's *Provincial America* (vol. VI.).

Dr. Thwaites has therefore a free field to carry the whole subject through, from the beginning of Gallic settlement to the expulsion of the French from North America in 1763.

After a brief account of the planting of New France (chap. i.), the author devotes three chapters to the three fields of French adventure and settlement—Acadia, the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi; besides a separate chapter (iv.) on the fascinating subject of the discovery of the Mississippi.

Having thus shown how the colonies came to be, he devotes chapters vi. and vii. to the wars by land and sea in America between 1713 and 1748; then, after an interesting chapter (viii.) on the people of New France, about half the book (chaps. ix. to xvii.) is devoted to the French and Indian War and its territorial results; then follows a review, which will be found novel and serviceable, of the conditions of Spanish Louisiana from 1762 down to the cession to the United States in 1803.

The literature of this subject is widely scattered and in several languages, and the student will find convenient the summary in the Critical Essay on Authorities: it deals rather with the fundamental works and collections than with special material on small points.

Although the first part of the book is chronologically parallel with several others of the series, and especially with Greene's *Provincial America*, it does not repeat, but gives between two covers a

succinct account of the origin, progress, and overthrow of the French empire in America. The western explorations, posts, and settlements of the French have especially interested the author, and are illustrated by original maps which almost for the first time reveal the immense possibilities which the French had before them.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE story of the rise and fall of New France is the most dramatic chapter in American history. It has been so admirably related by Francis Parkman that to follow in his footsteps may seem a daring venture. But the work of Parkman runs through twelve octavo volumes, and in this busy world comparatively few are willing to undertake the task of reading them all, despite the fact that *France and England in North America* is quite as entertaining as the best of fiction, and possesses the additional charm of verity. There would seem to be needed a one-volume history of New France, from the stand-point of relationship with her English neighbors to the south. Indeed, so intimate were these relations, and so far-reaching their consequences, that no history of the American nation can be considered complete that does not, as fully as space will permit, outline the remarkable career of Canada under the French régime.

One cannot treat of this subject without constantly acknowledging indebtedness to Parkman, and rising from the task with a keen appreciation of the many-sidedness of that great master.

Yet it must be remembered that the word of no historian is final. Much has been learned since the *Pioneers of France in the New World* went to press in 1865, and not a little since the series was completed in 1892 with *A Half-Century of Conflict*. On both sides of the international boundary, more particularly among the French writers of Canada, there has for over a quarter of a century past been an unceasing search into the "deeper deeps" of the history of New France. New stores of material have been brought to light and published, scores of trained historical students have each had a turn at these fresh sources, old theories have been critically re-examined; and not unnaturally many scholars have come to entertain opinions differing in some respects from those held by the older writers.

So far as space and the aim of the series allow, an attempt has been made in the present volume to give the story of New France as it appears to modern investigators. Had this book been intended to stand alone, more attention would of course have been paid to English colonial institutions and events, as contrasted with and influencing those of the French; but as these matters are sufficiently treated in other volumes of the series, repetition of facts was undesirable. Some of the characteristics of New France and its people, and certain features of its history, are susceptible of much more liberal treatment than is herein given; but it is neces-

sary to fashion the garment to the wearer's need, and the faithful reader of the series will doubtless find contained in other volumes most if not all of that which he may miss in this. It has been customary to close the history of New France with the treaty of Paris, or in any event the conspiracy of Pontiac; the present writer has, however, in the interest of dramatic continuity, thought it desirable in the concluding chapter briefly to follow the subsequent fortunes of the French in Louisiana, until their absorption into the American nation.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

FRANCE IN AMERICA

FRANCE IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE PLANTING OF NEW FRANCE

(1497-1632)

“THIS year [1497] on St. John the Baptist’s Day,” did “our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice,” bravely set forth from Bristol in *The Matthew*, a little lug-sailed vessel of fifty tons manned by less than twenty West-of-England sailors. The veteran mariner and his associates had been commissioned by Henry VII. to “set up our banner on any new-found land . . . upon their own costs and charges, to seek out and discover whatsoever isles . . . of the heathen and infidels, which before the time have been unknown to all Christians . . . [and] to pay to us the fifth part of the capital gain so gotten for every then voyage.” Fifty-three days out, Cabot sighted land somewhere within or bordering the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The location cannot be stated with definiteness; an animated controversy has been waged over the question for

several years, Cape Breton Island, Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and Labrador having each had its champions. The opinion of Dawson, that the landfall is in the neighborhood of North Cape, on Cape Breton, is, however, growing in favor.¹ Of more immediate consequence to American history was the fact that Cabot carried back to England news of the rich possibilities of the cod-fishery thereabout, especially off the cliff-girt bays of Newfoundland.²

Ever since the middle of the fourteenth century, and perhaps before, Englishmen, chiefly from the port of Bristol, had been catching cod off the shores of Iceland, if, indeed, the Labrador coast were not included in the range of their activities.³ But Cabot's report turned the attention of Bristol men to Newfoundland, and thenceforth the Icelandic catch held but second place. When, the following year, the discoverer departed upon his second

¹ Harris, "Outcome of the Cabot Quarter-Centenary," in *Am. Hist. Review*, IV., 38-61, would place it in Labrador. Dawson, in *Can. Royal Soc., Transactions*, XII., § 2, pp. 51-112; 2d series, II., § 2, pp. 3-30; and 2d series, III., § 2, pp. 139-268, prefers North Cape, as above. See summing up in Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, Introd., who thinks Dawson's theory probable but not proven; and that on the return Cabot's vessel skirted Newfoundland as far as Cape Race.

² Cabot's charter, dated March 5, 1496, cited in Weare, *Cabot's Discovery*, 96; Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 8. For a more detailed discussion of Cabot, see Bourne, *Spain in America* (*Am. Nation*, III.), chap. v.

³ Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 24-29, summarizes the data concerning early Icelandic fisheries.

voyage, Devonshire fishermen and traders—moved by the lusty ambitions of a decade wherein the habitable portion of the globe had suddenly been doubled by the discoveries of maritime adventurers—joined forces and sent “out of Bristow [Bristol] three or four small ships fraught with sleight and grosse wares, as coarse cloth, caps, laces, points, and such other,” their purpose being to make hauls of fish and to barter with the savages of the “new isle” and the neighboring American littoral.¹

It is not unlikely that Norsemen were at Newfoundland early in the eleventh century; but they do not appear to have made any settlement upon this new coast, which with its dense forests of conifers and almost countless fiords and island fringes so closely resembles Norway itself. Claims are made, also, that Spanish Basques, who were among the most venturesome of deep-sea fishers, had in their large, hulky craft preceded Cabot by a hundred years; but it is doubtful whether they went in force much before 1545. Portuguese fishermen appear to have arrived in 1501, and Normans and Bretons three years later.² Thereafter, for a century and a half, hundreds of fishing-vessels annually resorted to the rugged fiords of Newfoundland, their “winter crews” of boat-builders and scaffold-men settling themselves in small longshore colonies according to

¹ Stowe, *Annales*, 482.

² Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 43-49; HARRISSE, *Découverte et Évolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, xxxvii.-lxv.

nations—English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. Enormous hauls of cod were made, the fish being flayed and dried upon great stagings which lined the shores, in much the same manner as to-day;¹ while many vessels searched in northern waters for seals and whales. Throughout this long period, although the French fisheries were for several generations greater than their own, the fierce and hardy men of Devon remained in chief control at the stormy island and outpost—but only as the result of frequent bloody struggles with still ruder Basques and Bretons—fit training for the destruction of the Spanish Armada and the ousting of France from the American main-land nearly two centuries later. After the dispersal of the Armada in 1588, against which many a Newfoundland fishing-craft was pitted, England was recognized as mistress of the seas, and Spanish ships became almost unknown on the Grand Banks, where for forty years they had mustered fully two hundred sail and six thousand seamen.²

Upon this enormous traffic in dried fish, much of which was, and still is, marketed in Mediterranean ports, and upon the accompanying trade for furs with neighboring savages, several towns in northern France and western England greatly prospered. The numerous landlocked harbors of Newfoundland were, in those early days, also centres of a

¹ Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 21, 59, 61, etc.

² *Ibid.*, 51, 60, 81.

very considerable international barter—the cloths, hats, hosiery, and cordage of west England being carried thither in square-bowed fishing-craft, and exchanged for oils, wines, and prints brought by the larger vessels of Spain and Portugal.

St. John's was, as well, a port of call for most maritime adventurers to North America, of which Newfoundland was early recognized as the portal. Verrazzano (1524), Cartier (1534, 1535, 1541), Roberval (1541), Hawkins (1565), Parkhurst (1578), and Gilbert (1578, 1583) were but a few of the earliest in the long procession which sought water, provisions, and recruits in a harbor which by this time was almost as familiar to the seamen of western Europe as any of their own. Later, the first settlers of both Virginia and New England found it necessary occasionally to resort for succor to their Newfoundland compatriots, whose island colony—oldest of England's plantations beyond seas—had preceded their own by a well-rounded century.

What acquaintance European seamen who frequented Newfoundland had made with the river St. Lawrence before the arrival of Jacques Cartier is now unknown;¹ but it is not unreasonable to suppose that in their wide range for fish and furs—during which Labrador was commonly visited—they must not infrequently have entered the great estuary and found its coasts narrowing to the banks of a tidal stream. Hakluyt makes such a claim for

¹ Discussion in Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 10-15.

English sea-rovers early in the sixteenth century. But voyages of this character were seldom recorded, and tradition is an uncertain guide.

In 1534, Cartier, a master-pilot of St. Malo—a port which for thirty years had annually despatched many vessels to the American fisheries—set out under the commands of his royal master, Francis I., with the definite purpose of formally extending the bounds of France. After touching at Newfoundland, he explored the St. Lawrence “until land could be seen on either side.” The next year he repeated his voyage, and, ascending to Lachine Rapids, the head of navigation from the sea, named the island mountain at their foot Mont-Royal. His report¹ of a winter’s experience (1535–1536) in this inhospitable climate, near the gray cliff of Quebec, gave pause to Frenchmen in their western colonizing schemes; further, the king was now engaged at home in serious difficulties with Spain, and had neither thought, time, nor money for continuing the exploration of North America.

When at last a truce had been declared between France and Spain, Cartier was made captain-general and pilot of a new fleet of five vessels which was to bear to America the king’s viceroy, Jean François de la Roche, better known as Roberval, from his estates in Picardy. A month later than the time set, Roberval having failed to arrive, Cartier set sail

¹ *Brief Récit*, printed at Paris in 1545 and since included in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, and other collections.

with three ships (May, 1541), and in August was again at Quebec, where he built a post which he abandoned in the spring, thence returning to France. It is said that in the Gulf of St. Lawrence he met the belated Roberval coming with supplies, and with colonists who had for this purpose been liberated from French jails. The Picard remained for a year at Quebec, whose crude fortifications he restored and bettered, and he attempted some interior exploration; but his community was one requiring a liberal use of the lash and the gibbet, and gave him little peace. There are reports that Cartier was sent to bring him home in 1543. After the king's settlement of the accounts of the joint expedition (April 3, 1544), both Cartier and Roberval pass from our view.¹

France was now in the throes of civil war; the Huguenots, struggling bitterly against the domination of a hierarchy which rigidly controlled the state, engaged all of the king's means of repression. Seeking a refuge for his persecuted countrymen, the great Huguenot leader, Admiral Coligny, attempted to establish a colony of French Protestants in America. His Port Royal, planted in 1562 on the river Broad, proved a failure; and a settlement of two years later, on St. John's River, was razed by jealous Spaniards sallying from St. Augustine.²

¹ Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 23-47; Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, IV.), 284-286.

² Bourne, *Spain in America* (*Am. Nation*, III.), chap. xii.

It was not until 1598¹ that another attempt was made by France, this time to found a colony on the St. Lawrence. In that year Troilus du Mesgoñez, Marquis de la Roche, headed two ships laden with the usual crowd of degenerates—for in that day the sweepings of jails and gutters were commonly thought to furnish proper material for colonization over-seas. Landing his unmanageable vagabonds on lonely Sable Island, he essayed to search for a site on the main-land, far beyond; but storms drove his ships back to France, where he at once fell into political difficulties which resulted in his imprisonment. It was not until five years later that a chance rescue came to the abandoned colonists, who had had a pitiful experience, dallying with death upon this sandy reef which lies in a region of almost perpetual mists and chilling blasts.

In 1600 a commercial partnership was formed between François Gravé, the Sieur du Pont (commonly called Pontgravé), a St. Malo trading mariner who had been upon the St. Lawrence as far up as Three Rivers; a wealthy Honfleur merchant, Pierre Chauvin, who was a Calvinist friend of Henry IV.; and another rich Calvinist named Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts. Despite the vigorous protests of St. Malo merchants, who asserted that their long protection of French rights in that quarter gave them a claim to the American trade, to these three men was granted a royal monopoly of the fur-trade

¹ Possibly 1578; Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 76, gives 1590.

in the New World.¹ They made two successful voyages to Tadoussac, but the majority of the men left behind to build a fort met death from cold and starvation.

Chauvin dying, he was succeeded by Amyar de Chastes, a prominent friend of the king, who contracted a partnership with Pontgravé and several Rouen and St. Malo traders. In 1603, Pontgravé took out with him Samuel de Champlain, commissioned by the king as pilot and chronicler of the expedition, which proceeded as far as Lachine Rapids, and returned with large cargoes of furs. Champlain was an experienced seaman who had commanded a vessel in West Indian waters, and now entered upon a career which has made him perhaps the most famous figure, as he certainly is one of the most picturesque, in the romantic history of New France.²

Upon reaching Honfleur they learned that De Chastes had died, thus leaving without a head the colonization scheme on which Pontgravé and Champlain were to report. By permission of the king, however, his place was taken by that equally distinguished nobleman the Sieur de Monts—"a gentleman of great respectability, zeal, and honesty," declares Champlain—whose voyage to Tadoussac

¹ Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, "traces the birth and growth of commerce down to the year 1632."

² Slafter, memoir in Prince Soc. ed. of *Champlain's Voyages*; Gravier, *Champlain*.

we have already chronicled. De Monts was given the viceroyalty and trade monopoly of all of North America between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of latitude, with directions to found a settlement. It was specified in his commission that Huguenot colonists were to be granted religious freedom; but the savages must be instructed in the faith of Rome.

De Monts, Champlain, Pontgravé, and a friend of De Monts, the Baron de Poutrincourt, set forth in three ships, accompanied by some six score of artisans, both Catholics and Protestants, who were respectively served by "a priest and a minister." Touching in the neighborhood of what is now Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia—at Lower Granville, on the northwest shore of Annapolis Basin—Poutrincourt concluded to settle there, and, styling the place Port Royal, returned home for his family. The others proceeded to St. Croix Island (June, 1605), at the head of Passamaquoddy Bay, near the present boundary between Maine and New Brunswick; but the following spring, after a winter of rare suffering and death-dealing scurvy, moved to Port Royal, which thus was the first enduring French settlement planted on the main-land of North America. An entertaining and spirited account of life at this lonely outpost has come down to us from the pen of Lescarbot,¹ a lawyer-poet who was of the gay company whom De Monts and his colleagues had gathered

¹ Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.

about them. But an alleged wholesale conversion of natives by the priest of the party, widely heralded at the time, appears to have been a clever pretence to win the favor of the Catholic court.¹

The superior defensiveness of Quebec was early appreciated; nevertheless, the Bay of Fundy, and particularly the isolated eastern peninsula, early called Acadia, was strategically of immense importance to the coast of New France. Hence, Acadia was firmly held against English claims and suffered the usual hard fate of a buffer colony.

England claimed North America by virtue of the discoveries of the two Cabots (1497-1498), France by that of Verrazzano (1524), and the Spanish by Columbus's voyages, quickly followed by internal exploration. The sixteenth century witnessed abortive colonizing efforts north of the Gulf of Mexico by all three nations; but it was not until the opening of the seventeenth that the contest seriously commenced. Eight years after Henry IV. of France had given to De Monts the country between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels, Louis XIII., disregarding this grant, conveyed (1612) the region between Florida and the St. Lawrence to Madame de Guercheville and the Jesuits. Early in the century James I. of England began also to parcel out the continent, his first beneficiaries being (1606) the combined London and Plymouth companies.

¹ See Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, I., for details and for Lescarbot's memoir on the event.

In 1613, Samuel Argall, "a Virginia sea-captain of piratical tastes," who was later to be governor of that province, without warning swooped down upon the French colonies at Port Royal and on Mount Desert Island—the latter a Jesuit outpost on the firing-line—burned the buildings, and expelled the inhabitants.¹ Nine years after this outrage (1622), and while the former residents were gradually repeopling the shores of Annapolis Basin, James I. conveyed to Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, the Acadian peninsula which the French held by right of occupation, but which the English king now claimed and rechristened Nova Scotia. In addition to Nova Scotia, Sir William was granted a generous strip three hundred miles wide, up the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. The new owner of Acadia brought over a few Scotch and English, who settled at and refortified old Port Royal, the French *habitants* having several years previously removed to the site of the present Annapolis Royal, some twelve miles farther up the basin. But it was impossible to make headway against their French neighbors. The latter soon absorbed the fresh arrivals, whose descendants, Gallicized both in name and blood, in the following century took sides against Great Britain.

Although stronger than Sir William's handful of immigrants, the French colony in Acadia was still feeble. Few of the settlers were adept at agricult-

¹ Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, IV.), 72, 289.

ure; the native population was small, and the hunting-ground was limited, with consequent restriction of the fur-trade. The original seigneur, Poutrincourt, had lacked sufficient resources, and owing to the fickleness of the Versailles court was able to give slight assistance. His son and successor, Biencourt, became a *coureur de bois*, and long lived on much the same scale as his aboriginal companions; while his successors, the La Tours and d'Aulnay, rival fur-trade chiefs and corsairs, fought a bloody feud that lasted until the death of the latter in 1650.¹ This internecine war, abounding in piratical raids of the most furious character, kept the shores of the Bay of Fundy in a constant and unprofitable turmoil throughout nearly half a century; the unfortunate *habitants*—fishers, trappers, hunters, and roving adventurers, many of them half-breeds, but none of them paying much more attention to their fields than did the Indians—being ranged like feudal retainers in the service of their respective lords. "They belonged to an epoch that is lost in the mists of antiquity. Biencourt, d'Aulnay, the two de la Tours, Saint-Castin, Denys, Subercasse, Marpain, are so many legendary heroes whose names are still re-echoed by forest

¹ See detailed narrative by Parkman, "The Feudal Chiefs of Acadia," in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXI., 25, 201; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 3d series, VII., 90-121; Quebec Hist. Soc., *Transactions*, III., 236-241; Hazard, *Hist. Collections*, I., 307-309, 541-544; Charlevoix, *New France* (Shea's ed.), III., 124-138.

and rock from New Hampshire to the inmost recesses of the Bay of Fundy.”¹

Sir William Alexander was able to maintain a nominal hold upon the country only by spasmodically coming to terms with whichever fur-trade faction chanced at the moment to be uppermost—a feat of opportunist diplomacy imitated by the French court, whose authority the prevailing chieftain also privately acknowledged. Throughout all the nominal changes in political mastery, this little theatre of discord witnessed the same play of miserable international intrigue, reprehensible to all concerned, which was to end in the ruin of the unhappy Acadians.

Convinced that the rock of Quebec was far better suited than Port Royal for the needs of a stronghold of French power, Champlain induced De Monts to authorize a colony there. The latter thereupon secured for his friend the governorship of New France, and sent him out with Pontgravé in two well-equipped ships to found (July, 1608) the capital of the king's western possessions. It was a fortunate site, not only far removed from the meddlesome English, who were now established at Jamestown (1607), and were freely examining the Atlantic coast with a disposition to regard the French as intruders, but advantageously situated for commanding the Indian traffic of an immense

¹ Richard, *Acadia*, I, 28; Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, IV.), 289, 306-310.

drainage basin, and for despatching exploring expeditions to the interior. The cliff overtowering the little settlement on the strand of Quebec was under ordinary conditions practically impregnable, and seemed an ideal situation for a fortress guarding the door of a vast continent.

Various motives contributed to the establishment and maintenance of New France. The king very naturally was moved by a passion for territorial expansion; the church was eager to convert the heathen savages of the New World; the fur-trade, although abounding in great risks, was at times so profitable as to stimulate the cupidity of merchants; the hope of finding deposits of precious metals was predominant in the minds of speculators; the army and the navy were ambitious for gallant exploits; and the French people in general were in that eventful period imbued with a generous yearning for adventure in strange lands. Conquest, exploration, missionary zeal, and the fur-trade were, therefore, for a hundred and fifty years the controlling and often warring interests of New France.

Champlain, who loved to roam, in person conducted several exploring parties, chiefly up the Saguenay and the Ottawa, and into the country around Lake Champlain. In 1615 he was upon the shores of Lake Huron, vainly searching for a westering waterway through the heart of the continent. In 1634 one of his agents, Jean Nicolet, penetrated as far as Wisconsin and made trading compacts

with the tribesmen of that distant land.¹ The year following (December 25, 1635), the adventurous, pious, and tactful governor departed from this life. With its back to the wall, the hamlet of Quebec had under his guidance defied savage enemies, the forbidding climate, the meagre soil, and all the numerous train of obstacles which at first beset European colonization in the North American wilderness. From a political point of view, Champlain had laid deep the foundations of New France; he had spread the sphere of French influence northward to the barren lands of Labrador and Lake St. John, westward as far as the interlocking streams which in Wisconsin form the principal canoe route to the Mississippi, and southward to the banks of the Mohawk and the Hudson; while through the active vehicle of intertribal barter Paris-made weapons and utensils had penetrated into the most distant tribes of the continental interior.²

In another important particular, however, Champlain's dreams had not been realized. He earnestly sought to make of New France an agricultural colony; but we have seen that the enterprise originated with a commercial monopoly which, while

¹ Butterfield, *Discovery of the Northwest*; *Wis. Hist. Collections*, XI., 1-25.

² Specifically, Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (ed. of 1866), 193, 194; Marquette, in *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites's ed.), LIX., 127; La Chesnaye (1697), in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, VI., 3. On the whole subject, Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 230; Turner, *Indian Trade in Wisconsin* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, IX., Nos. 11, 12).

pleasing the court with a pretence of concern for Christianizing the heathen, doubtless had no further desire than to extract from the country its full measure of profit in trading with the natives for furs. Until 1663 the colony on the St. Lawrence maintained a precarious existence under the baneful management of a succession of self-seeking corporations. The winning of a sustenance from the reluctant soil of eastern Canada required greater toil and thrift than mercantile adventurers were willing to bestow; the far-stretching rivers were a continual invitation to explore and exploit the wilderness and its strange inhabitants; the fur trade was the only apparent source of wealth—just as cod-fisheries were accounted the one valuable asset of Newfoundland and of the maritime colonies on the shores of Acadia, where Poutrincourt and his successors and rivals were leading factious but picturesque careers.

The trading and colonizing charter granted to De Monts had been cancelled in 1609. For two years Champlain kept the plantation alive mainly by the aid of merchant adventurers in Rouen; when they withdrew (1611) he secured the formation of a new company, composed of merchants in Rouen, Havre, St. Malo, and La Rochelle. This concern finally went to pieces through jealousy, and amid a storm of complaints that certain members were selling arms and ammunition to the savages and thus endangering the Quebec settlement. The Company

of Associates was thereupon organized, with Champlain and De Monts as the most prominent members; but religious and commercial differences arose, and in the midst of the quarrels Champlain for a time stood in danger of losing his command. In 1620 the corporation was dissolved, its successor being what is known as the Company of De Caen. Seven years later Richelieu secured the dissolution of the latter and the substitution of his own monopoly, commonly called the Company of the Hundred Associates. This powerful organization was granted almost sovereign jurisdiction throughout the vast transatlantic claims of the French, extending from Florida to the arctic circle, and from Newfoundland to the "great fresh lake" of Huron.¹

Previous monopolies had included Protestants in their membership, and much of the trouble originated from religious dissension, for it was a time when men could not peacefully agree to disagree in such matters. The Hundred Associates,² however, admitted none but Catholics. Huguenots and foreigners were not permitted to enter New France, and for fifteen years the company was to maintain and equip priests at each settlement or station. While internal harmony was thus secured, the result was most unfortunate; for among the Hugue-

¹ See analysis and references upon this charter in Cheyney, *European Background* (*Am. Nation*, I.), 156-160.

² Actually one hundred and seven. See list in Du Creux, *Historia Canadensis*, sig. b; the charter and other interesting particulars in Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, II., 27-33.

nots now being harried from France were some of the best material in the nation; and, forbidden to enter Canada, these vigorous people were soon employed in developing rival English colonies to the south.

From the first, the court, largely influenced by the church, was much concerned with the conversion of the Indians. The Calvinist De Monts had been allowed to take out Huguenot ministers for those of his companions who wished them; but missions to the natives must be conducted solely by Catholic clergy. Jesuits had been ordered to New France by King Henry IV. as early as 1610; but their experiences were not happy, for at Port Royal Poutrincourt's son opposed them, and we have seen that at Mount Desert English sea-rovers from Virginia demolished their settlement (1613). In 1615 Champlain introduced to Quebec four members of the fraternity of Recollects, the most austere of the three Franciscan orders. For ten years these gray friars practised the rites of the church in the Canadian woods, all the way from the fishing and trading-post of Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, to the western lake of the Nipissings, on the road to Lake Huron. But when Richelieu began to assume control, the argument was advanced that ministrations of a sterner order were needed for this work. The Recollects were therefore induced to invite the aid of the powerful Jesuits, who just then were conducting suc-

cessful missions in Asia, Africa, and South America. In 1625 three of the "black gowns" appeared at Quebec, and immediately the field of operations broadened, although it was soon seen that the successful promulgation of the peaceful doctrines of Christianity was to be no holiday task among the warlike tribes of the great Algonquian family.¹

In July, 1628, a predatory English fleet under Admiral Sir David Kirk took possession of Tadousac, and a year later secured the unresisting surrender of Quebec from the hands of Champlain, who had with him only sixteen combatants. The governor, together with the missionaries, were transported to England, but eventually they were allowed to proceed to France. Three years later (1632) Canada was retroceded to France,² the Hundred Associates now began their work in earnest, and the Jesuits were allowed a monopoly of the interior missions, which they rapidly developed; the Recollects being thereafter confined to the maritime districts—the ill-defined region to which was now applied the general term Acadia, heretofore chiefly confined to the Nova Scotia peninsula.

¹ Details in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, passim.

² Cf. Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, IV.), 290.

CHAPTER II

THE ACADIAN FRONTIER

(1632-1728)

ANOTHER wave of foreign war reached the shores of Acadia in 1654, when Port Royal, Fort St. Jean (the St. John of our day), and other little strongholds on the Bay of Fundy, fell victims to a New England force under Major Robert Sedgwick, a sturdy Cromwellian soldier who held a commission from the Protector. Thirteen years later (1667) the peninsula was restored to France by the treaty of Breda, the white population at that time being only about four hundred souls, of whom less than a fourth lived beyond cannon-shot of Port Royal.¹

Isolated, neglected by France, having but slight communication with Canada, and constantly exposed to naval assaults from the English colonies to the south, the little band of Acadians had by this time acquired characteristics all their own. They had become toughened by the harsh condi-

¹In estimates of Acadian population, we follow Richard, *Acadia*.

tions of a protracted civil war, the frequent struggles now imposed upon them by English invaders, and the roving character of their life, to an independence of thought and action seldom met with elsewhere in New France. Affairs were discussed and decided in public meetings, much after the fashion of New England, and the *habitants* were accustomed to the necessity of thinking for themselves. The frugal habits and simple tastes and manners of their forebears were tenaciously retained; bookishly ignorant, they were easily satisfied as to material things; they held devotedly to the Catholic faith, being content to allow the priests, men quite of their own type, to influence their action in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs. Hating the English as they had good right to—for heretic raiders from New England, bent on burning and harrying these coastwise settlements, had become an annual possibility—nevertheless, they were apt to find themselves happier under English rule, which, when the carnage ceased, at least left them free to manage their own domestic affairs; whereas fussy French officialism, seeking to fasten upon them the feudal conditions elsewhere prevalent in New France, greatly annoyed these honest folk who had become accustomed to town-meeting methods.

There were, and could be, no definite bounds between New England and New France, each growing and aggressive. The Bay of Fundy region was in



constant dispute. To France it was necessary as protection to her portal, the Gulf of St. Lawrence; to the English this argument was in itself sufficient reason for covetousness.

Thus far there had been no serious attempt on the part of English colonists to venture westward of the Alleghany barrier; but they were now eagerly spreading all over the Atlantic slope, and the adventurous spirits of New England and New York found their outlet to the north. Their stockaded trading-posts, soon surrounded by hamlets of backwoodsmen, were being established all along the eastern frontier of Indian tribes who in the west and north were the neighbors of New France. The French, on the other hand, were reaching down into Maine and New Hampshire with their fur-trade and mission stations.

A clash was inevitable. Frenchmen upon the Bay of Fundy had had long and severe military training; among them were competent Indian leaders, and Algonquian blood coursed the veins of some of the most prominent of the men of European race, while the spirit of conquest was abroad. The English borderers, in their block-house farmsteads, were not long in discovering that Acadia had become a hotbed for French and Indian marauding parties that fought with torch and tomahawk. Acadian fishermen also sought to capture English fishing-vessels that entered upon their waters. It is small wonder that between the treaty of Breda

and 1710 Port Royal alone suffered five assaults from New England expeditions.¹

King William's War (1689-1697) occurred when the entire population of New France was not greater than twelve thousand, whereas New England and New York alone held a hundred thousand inhabitants. New France would have suffered severely in a struggle with the English coast colonies, had it not been for the help of her Indian allies, the strategical strength of her important posts, the fighting capacity of her well-trained militia, and the dissensions which existed in the councils of the English colonists.

French operations in this war, under Governor Frontenac, were vigorous, consisting of three winter expeditions (1689-1691), in which Indians were chiefly engaged, savagely attacking the long line of English frontier at widely separated points—New York, New Hampshire, and Maine. Great alarm was thereby occasioned in the English colonies, and small wonder; for, despite the relative strength of her children over-sea, at this time the population and resources of the mother-land were less than half those of France, which was the strongest country in Europe; and Louis XIV. was actuated by a lust for land which in the end was to prove fatal, but to

¹In 1680, 1690, 1704, 1707, 1710. Calnek and Savary, *County of Annapolis*, 34-62; Charlevoix, *New France*, III., 211, V., 170, 191-201; *Nova Scotia Hist. Collections*, I., 59-64; Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass. Bay*, II., 143-171, 182-184, 196-204.

the Englishmen of his time appeared seriously to threaten English colonization in America.

The Iroquois and several of the western tribes, notably the Ottawa, were egged on by them to attack the French, which they did with a barbarity quite equalling the Algonquian forays on English backwoodsmen. For a time these irregular counter raids seemed insufficient, and the first colonial congress was held at New York (May 1, 1690) to devise joint expeditions against Canada. The result proved feeble, but the convention was historically important as furnishing a precedent for future colonial co-operation.¹ A New England fleet with eighteen hundred militia commanded by Sir William Phipps, captured Port Royal that summer, and consequently Acadia; but in the following season, Phipps having left too small a garrison, the French *habitants* retook the district, and their king retained it under the treaty of Ryswick (1697).²

Other incidents of the war were the yielding of Newfoundland to the French (1696), who held the great island until obliged under the treaty to surrender it the following year; and five years of irregular bushranging along the New York and New England border, both sides freely using Indian allies, a practice in which the French were by training, temperament, and association the more expert.

¹ Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 90-93, gives material from Massachusetts archives not readily accessible elsewhere.

² Cf. Greene, *Provincial America* (*Am. Nation*, VI.), chap. viii.

The treaty did not, however, bring peace to the harassed borderers. Intercolonial hostilities of a merciless character continued spasmodically along the frontier throughout the period of five years between the treaty of Ryswick and the breaking-out, in 1702, of Queen Anne's War, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession. The military operations of the latter were of a character similar to those of the preceding war. Of three attempts made by New England troops to recapture the peninsula (1704, 1707, and 1710), the last was successful, Port Royal surrendering to Colonel Francis Nicholson after an heroic defence of nineteen days.

By the terms of the treaty of Utrecht (1713),¹ "All of Nova Scotia or Acadia, comprised in its ancient limits, as also the city of Port Royal," was definitively ceded to Great Britain, in whose hands it thereafter remained, the first solid step in the conquest of New France. The indefinite, indeed curiously clumsy, phrasing of this description, of course settled nothing as to the boundaries between New France and the English colonies. These were to be determined by a joint commission, which was, however, never appointed, possibly because the questions involved were of too delicate a nature for arbitration; a half-century later they were referred to the arbitrament of war.

¹ Text in Chalmers, *Treaties*; Gerard, *Peace of Utrecht*; Houston, *Docs. Illus. Canadian Constitution*.

In the absence of definitive boundaries, the French now stoutly asserted that by the term Acadia was meant only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, a plausible contention in view of the treaty phrase; and the English were caustically notified not to meddle with the rest of the country, especially to the west and southwest of the Bay of Fundy, involving most of the hotly disputed border-line between New France and New England. The French claim extended to the Kennebec River, and up to that stream they proceeded to strengthen their defences.

On the other hand, the English contended for what they claimed to be the common understanding: that Acadia (which in 1691 was included in the new charter of Massachusetts) comprised also Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and so much of Maine as lay beyond the Kennebec. This position found abundant warrant in old French documents, it being proved that therein, so long as the French were in control, the term Acadia was accepted among them as embracing the entire stretch of country between the Kennebec and the St. Lawrence. As Lahontan said in 1703: "The Coast of Acadia extends from Kenebeki, one of the frontiers of New England, to l'Isle Percée, near the Mouth of the River of St. Lawrence. This Sea-Coast runs almost three hundred Leagues in length."¹ Already Eng-

¹ Thwaites, *Lahontan's Voyages*, I., 323; see also documents in Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, App., 273-287.

lish fishing and trading stations had crept up along the coast as far as the Kennebec, and preparations for a still farther advance were evident.¹

The Kennebec forms with the Chaudière, which empties into the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec, a possible although difficult portage route for war and trading parties, and was frequently used by French and Indians upon their marauding raids. Indeed, the long and undulating water-shed between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic drainage abounds in chains of lakes and opposite-flowing rivers which can be used in short-cut journeys between the lower St. Lawrence and the sea. Throughout all this interesting region of forest and stream, English and French traders and adventurers frequently met and fought; but the Kennebec, as the chief trade-route and war-path, with memories of both King William's and Queen Anne's wars, was adopted by the French as their boundary, and became the bone of a heated contention.

The Massachusetts policy of maintaining among the tribesmen official trading-posts, with fair prices for furs, had, south of the Kennebec, secured to the Puritans the friendship of the natives and a long peace. But the Abenaki, in the Kennebec valley and to the north, remained firm in their adherence to New France. Jesuit missionaries had converted them, and taught their wards to hate the overbearing and land-grabbing English, who would ruin the

¹ See Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, IV.), chap. xvi.

hunting-grounds by converting them into farms. After the treaty of Utrecht the French strengthened this alliance, and stockaded the native villages, thereby seeking to create a dense line of Indian opposition along the Kennebec that could not be penetrated by importunate borderers from the south.¹

The most important Abenaki town was Norridgewock, seventy-five miles above the river-mouth. Its spiritual director was Father Sebastien Rale, concerning whose ability and energy as a missionary, and skill in savage leadership, there can be no doubt; but politically he was a bigot, and hated Englishmen as though the children of the evil one. Agricultural settlements from Massachusetts steadily increased in this quarter. It maddened the nervous and excitable Rale to find the English frontiersmen stolidly indifferent to arguments and threats. The new-comers obtained lands by purchase from certain Indian chiefs; but the authority of these chiefs to dispose of the common hunting-ground was denied by Rale and the rank and file of the tribesmen—properly enough, for the Indian polity is intensely democratic, and the chief can only act when his followers consent; moreover, Indians could not in those early days comprehend the

¹ Documents and discussions in Baxter, *New France in New England*; N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., IX., 909-912, 933-935; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII., 55-65, 97-119; Franklin, *Writings* (Sparks's ed.), IV., 7, 8.

meaning of a permanent land transfer, their notion being that the courtesy of a temporary occupancy was alone sought, and that in due time they would be permitted to regain their hunting-grounds.

While Rale, in the intensity of his Anglophobia, may not have personally incited his people to actual warfare, he nevertheless maintained close touch with the officials at Quebec and Louisburg, who neglected no means of fostering bad blood; and he connived at the introduction of war-parties of Ottawa, who stirred his flock to frenzy. In 1721 the New England border was cruelly swept by savage raids, the inception of which was easily traceable to Norridgewock. The usual quarrels and jealousies between the Massachusetts governor and assembly led to a two years' delay in retribution; but in 1723 an initial raid was made by Massachusetts men upon the Penobscot, and a French missionary village was destroyed; this being followed the next season by a further punitive expedition of two hundred volunteers, who proceeded up the Kennebec, successfully stormed Norridgewock, and in the ensuing massacre killed Rale himself.¹ All along the Kennebec, Abenaki were now slaughtered without mercy by bands of Massachusetts rangers, whose zest for killing was, when jaded, stimulated by an

¹ Baxter, *New France in New England*, 237-273; Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, I., 229-239; Charlevoix, *New France*, V., 268-281; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII., 231-247; *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, IX., 936-939; *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, 2d series, VIII., 245-267.

official reward, for each savage scalp, of a hundred pounds in depreciated provincial currency.

This irregular border strife, which lasted throughout four dark and bloody years, while the mother-countries were still at peace, early extended as far west as the Hudson. As usual in such cases, in the end the blow fell heaviest upon the savages themselves. Left alone, the tribesmen might soon have pleaded for mercy from English wrath; but French officials on the St. Lawrence, and French partisans in the Acadian settlements, would hear of no yielding on the part of their dusky dogs of war, and so the weary strife went on. It meant the sapping of the strength of New France. To New England, the bitter experience proved a fit training-school for the independent yeomen who were in mighty struggles first to oust their French rivals, and then cast off the leading-strings of mother England herself.

CHAPTER III

THE ST. LAWRENCE VALLEY

(1632-1713)

FROM the time of the restoration of New France (1632) till the final catastrophe of 1759, Canada remained uninterruptedly French; and from the tide-water of the St. Lawrence as a base, French traders, soldiers, and settlers (*habitants*) spread westward, northward, and eventually southward. In the year of the restoration probably not over a hundred and eighty of its inhabitants might properly be called settlers, with perhaps a few score military men, seafarers, and visiting commercial adventurers. The majority of residents of course centred at Quebec, with a few at the outlying trading-posts of Tadoussac on the east, Three Rivers on the west, and the intervening hamlets of Beaupré, Beauport, and Isle d'Orleans. At the same time the English and Dutch settlements in Virginia, the Middle Colonies, and Massachusetts had probably amassed an aggregate population of twenty-five thousand—for between the years 1627 and 1637 upward of twenty thousand settlers emigrated thither from Europe. While the English government

was engaged in efforts to repress the migration towards its own colonies, the utmost endeavors of the powerful French companies, their arguments reinforced by bounties, could not induce more than a few home-loving Frenchmen to try their fortunes amid the rigors of the New World.

With all his tact, Champlain had committed one act of indiscretion, the effects of which were left as an ill-fated legacy to the little colony which he otherwise nursed so well. Seeking to please his Algonquian neighbors upon the St. Lawrence, and at the time eager to explore the country, the commandant, with two of his men-at-arms, accompanied (1609) one of their frequent war-parties against the confederated Iroquois, who lived, for the most part, in New York state and northeastern Pennsylvania. Meeting a hostile band of two hundred and fifty warriors near where Fort Ticonderoga was afterwards constructed, Champlain and his white attendants easily routed the enemy by means of fire-arms, with which the interior savages were as yet unacquainted.¹ His success in this direction was, through the unfortunate importunity of his allies, repeated in 1610; but five years later, when he invaded the Iroquois cantonments in the company of a large body of Huron, whose country to the east of Lake Huron he had been visiting that summer, the tribesmen to the southeast of Lake Ontario were found to have lost much of their

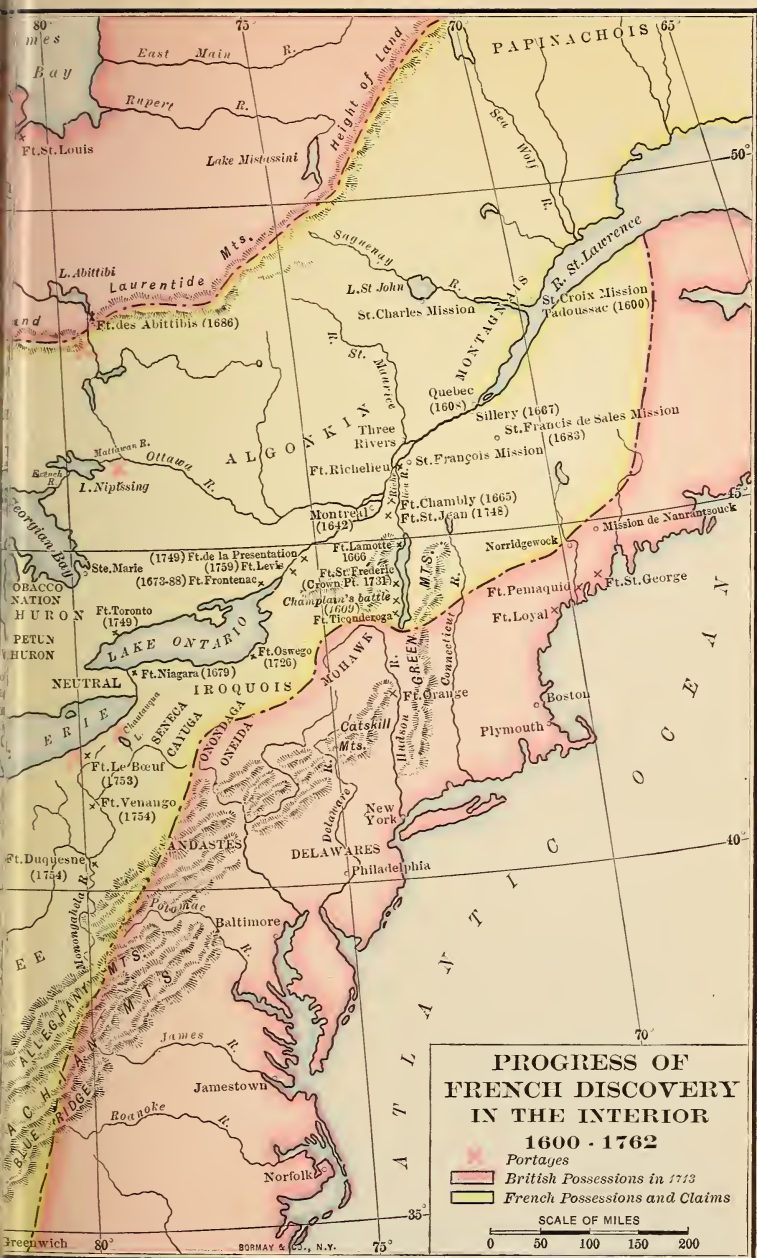
¹ Cf. Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, IV.), 288.

fear for white men's weapons, and the invaders retreated in some disorder.

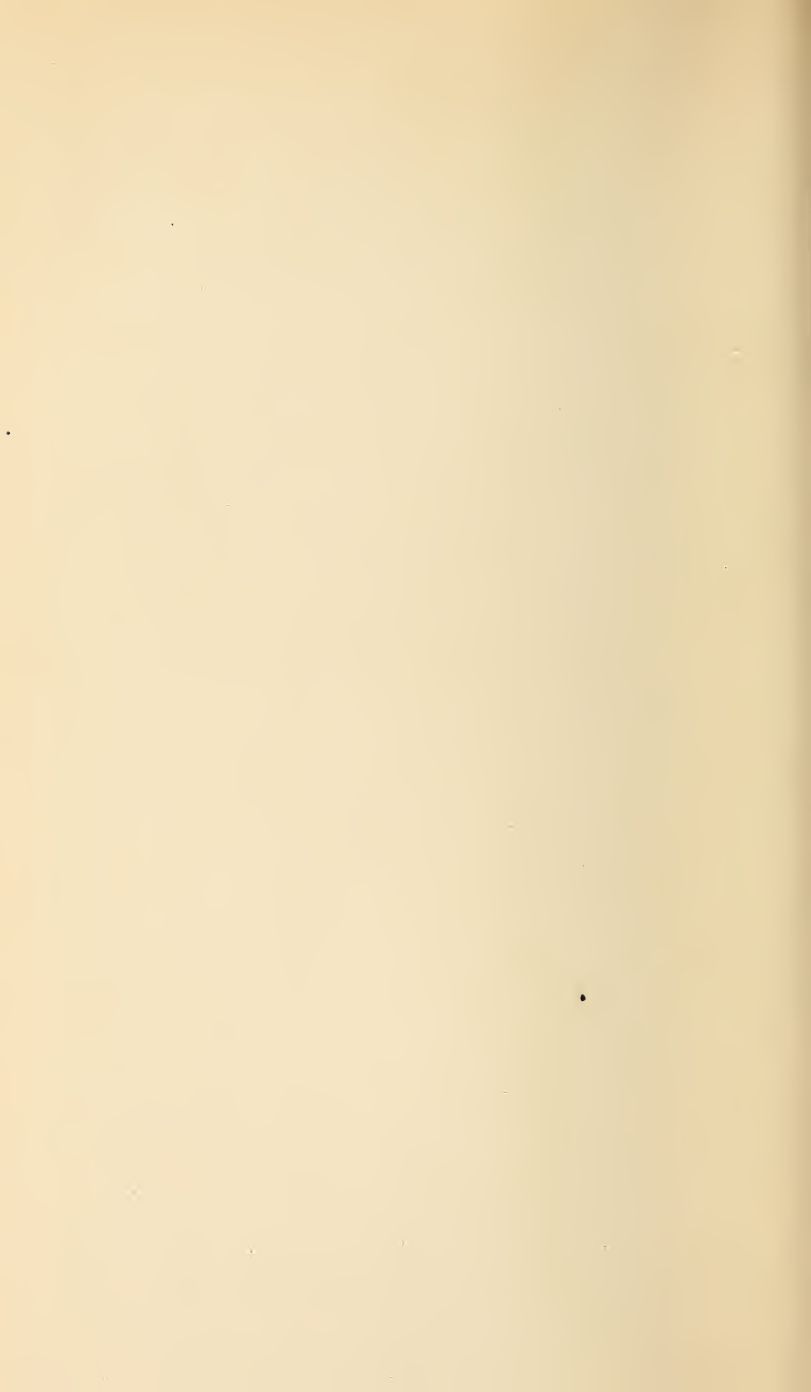
The results were highly disastrous both to the Huron and the French. The former were year by year mercilessly harried by the bloodthirsty Iroquois, until in 1649 they were driven from their homes and in the frenzy of fear fled first to the islands of Lake Huron, then to Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, finally to the southern shores of Lake Superior, and deep within the dark pine forests of northern Wisconsin. In the destruction of Huronia, several Jesuit missionaries suffered torture and death.

As for the squalid little French settlements at Three Rivers, Quebec, and Tadoussac, they soon felt the wrath of the Iroquois, who were the fiercest and best-trained fighters among the savages of North America. Almost annually the war-parties of this dread foe raided the lands of the king, not infrequently appearing in force before the sharp-pointed palisades of New France, over which were often waged bloody battles for supremacy. Fortunately logs could turn back a primitive enemy unarmed with cannon; but not infrequently outlying parties of Frenchmen had sorry experiences with the stealthy foe, of whose approach through the tangled forest they had had no warning. Champlain's closing years were much saddened by these merciless assaults which he had unwittingly invited; in the decade after his death the operations of his suc-









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underwent a fundamental change, which gave new vigor to the attempt to penetrate into the unknown west. The Hundred Associates had agreed, in their charter, to send four thousand colonists to Canada before 1643, to lodge and support them during three years, and then to give them cleared lands for their maintenance; but the vast expense attendant upon an enterprise of this character was beyond the ability of the company, who had found no profit in any feature of their undertaking; therefore, after feeble attempts at immigration, they transferred to the inhabitants of Quebec their monopoly of the fur-trade, with all debts and other obligations, but retained their seigniorial rights as lords of the soil. Finally, in 1663, the associates willingly surrendered their charter, New France became the property of the crown, and thereby was ended the era of feudal tenure under the mastery of a grasping although unsuccessful commercial corporation. Thus, freedom from the control of corporate greed and measurable relief from the Iroquois horror came almost contemporaneously. New France, now over a half-century old, had at last been given the shadow of a chance.

So far the rivalry of England had, after the return of Quebec, been felt only in Acadia,¹ for the Iroquois acted as a barrier between the contending powers all along the northern frontier, both before and after the English acquisition of New York in 1664.

¹ See chap. ii., above.

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Among the English colonists, however, were many restless adventurers who sought new lands, fresh hunting-grounds, and the uncertain profits of the roving Indian trade. As early as 1650, Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, made a vain attempt to cross the Alleghany barrier in search of the Mississippi, of which he had vaguely heard from Indians. A few years later a Virginian, Colonel Abraham Wood, discovered (1654-1664) streams which poured into the Ohio and the Mississippi,¹ thus penetrating the Mississippi basin several years before the French discovery by Jolliet and Marquette.² Later explorers — Lederer³ (1669, 1670), Batts⁴ (1671), Howard and Salling⁵ (1742), Walker⁶ (1748, 1750), Gist⁷ (1751), Finley⁸ (1752, 1753), Boone⁹ (1769), George Washington¹⁰ (1770, to the mouth of the

¹ Coxe, *Carolana*, 120; Adair, *Am. Indians*, 308; *State of British Colonies* (1755), 107, 118.

² See chap. iii., below.

³ Talbot (trans.), *Discoveries of John Lederer*.

⁴ Beverley, *Virginia*; *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, III., 193-197.

⁵ Du Pratz, *Louisiana*, 62; Wynne, *British Empire in America*, II., 405; *Expediency of Securing Our American Colonies*, 25, 47.

⁶ Walker, *Journal*, in Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky*.

⁷ Gist, *Journal* (Johnston's and Darlington's ed.).

⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, May 17, 1753; Filson, *Kentucky* (erroneous date); *Pa. Col. Records*, V., 570; "Boone Papers," in Draper MSS.

⁹ Boone, "Narrative," in Filson, *Kentucky*, 47-54; Draper MSS.

¹⁰ Washington, *Journal of a Tour to the Ohio*, in *Writings* (Ford's ed.), II., 285-316; Collins, *Kentucky*, II., 460, notes doubtful evidence, nowhere else confirmed, of Washington's presence earlier than 1770.

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character were unfavorable for agriculture, there was no manufacturing, and thus far from the sea the fisheries were unimportant—found themselves easily lured by the far-stretching and ramified waterways which led from and to the great northwest. The colony was no sooner planted than Champlain, a typical adventurer of his time, set the fashion of exploration. We have seen that the founder of New France personally reached the shores of Lake Huron, and that in 1634—the year before his death—his agent, Jean Nicolet, was treating with Wisconsin tribes upon the chief north-western gateway to the Mississippi, which stream, however, he does not appear to have visited.¹

The handful of colonists soon became widely diffused by means of these enticing wilderness paths. By the time New France was fifty years old, its population of three thousand souls was scattered all the way from far-eastern Acadia to the lonely trading-camps of the explorers Radisson and Groseilliers, in the wilds of central Wisconsin (1654-1655)—a stretch of over fifteen hundred miles along the great glacial groove of the St. Lawrence drainage system. Governor d'Avaugour wrote from Quebec in 1661: "As regards . . . the settlements, they are scattered in a still more unsocial fashion than are the savages themselves . . . less than three thousand souls residing over an extent of eighty leagues . . . for a distance of a league and a half around Quebec,

¹ See chap. i., above.

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Holding such claims to be the logical result of exploration, partially occupying the country with their fur-trade and military stations, and enjoying therein a widely diffused commerce with the natives, with the majority of whom they were on kindly terms, Frenchmen long felt confident that the English colonists, thus far giving small evidence of land hunger, might permanently be restricted to the narrow eastern slope of the Appalachians; and perhaps to such fur-bearing littoral in the extensive north as might be controlled by the powerful but unadventurous "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay."

The establishment in London (1667) of the Hudson's Bay Company, as the fruit of the defection from French interests of two of their most noted explorers in the region of the upper Great Lakes—the sieurs Radisson and Groseilliers¹—proved the opening wedge of that English commercial rivalry which was ultimately to shatter New France. The charter granted (1670) by King Charles II. to this notable company, upon whose rolls were Prince Rupert, the Duke of York, and other court favorites, quite after the fashion of the most exorbitant French claims, bestowed the entire region drained by waters flowing directly or indirectly into and from Hud-

¹ See Scull (ed.), *Radisson's Voyages; Wis. Hist. Collections*, XI., 64-69; Campbell, *Radisson and Groseilliers*.

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the great English company of the north was a dangerous rival in the fur-trade. "These smug ancient gentlemen," as Lord Bolingbroke once contemptuously called them, were not keen after exploration of their sub-Arctic domain. Their shop-keeping servants at first showed a curious reluctance to venture farther inland than could be seen from the walls of their stockaded "factories"—although in later years there were not lacking among them adventurers whose names stand high on the roll of American explorers. But having the freedom of the seas, they could cheaply import to the gates of their bay-side forts a high grade of goods. Although merciless in bargaining with the natives, they were able to offer the latter better prices and merchandise than could be found at the posts of the monopoly-ridden French. The result was that the Quebec and Montreal merchants, who were operating through Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, and Lake Superior stations, found the Indians, who cared little for the time element, often willing to travel long distances to reach the better customer. Moreover, such were the difficulties of transportation met by the French of the interior, with their long and arduous portages, that they purchased from the natives only the lighter and more expensive furs, such as beaver, marten, and fox; while the English, able to load pelts upon sea-going vessels at the wharves of their Hudson Bay posts, were customers for every variety of skins. Some idea of the profits of the trade, as

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mastery of the situation. But their trade in this district proved to be far from profitable. France was weak in sea-power; the vessels of her bay traders were subject to pillage and destruction by the all-conquering navy of Britain.¹ Even had communication with France been uninterrupted, the traders were victims of the commercial monopoly which fettered New France; they could not meet the prices for furs which had been established among the seaboard savages by the British. At Utrecht, in 1713, it was agreed that the bay should remain the property of its first exploiters. The "Old Lady of Fenchurch Street," as the great company was derisively termed by hostile critics, once more assumed control — greatly weakened, however, through long years of adversity.

¹ Bryce, *Hudson's Bay Company*, 52-60.

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the Beaver, the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Wabash. From Lake Michigan, the river St. Joseph might be ascended to its source, and a carrying trail found, by which the Maumee could be reached and descended to Lake Erie, thus cutting across the base of the great Michigan peninsula; or, at the great bend of St. Joseph (South Bend, Indiana), a marshy trail led over to the Kankakee, which pours into the Illinois, itself an affluent of the Mississippi. At Chicago River was another trade-route over a narrow, swampy divide, by which could be reached the Des Plaines, a tributary of the Illinois. The favorite path of all, however, was that by which Lake Michigan was connected with the Mississippi by ascending Green Bay and the Fox River, crossing a boggy plain of a mile and a half in central Wisconsin (at the modern city of Portage), and descending the broad, island-strewn Wisconsin River, which is edged by picturesque bluffs alternating with rich alluvial bottoms.

The portage routes between Lake Superior and the Mississippi were of great importance in the control of that inland sea, but were seldom used in ordinary travel between the extremities of New France. The Bois Brulé is a narrow stream in which rapids and pools succeed each other through the heart of the overhanging forest; a carrying path of a mile and a half leads to the often turbulent St. Croix, wherein cataracts and billowy rapids necessitate several bank-side portages. At the southwest

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the continent, between the Alleghanies and the Rockies, from the frozen lands of the far north to the sub-tropical region bordering the Gulf of Mexico. French progress up the St. Lawrence system was throughout much of the eighteenth century interrupted by the hostility of the Iroquois, who held the lands to the south of Lake Ontario and along the Niagara portage. Champlain's early assault upon these,¹ the most warlike of American savages, had engendered a hatred which would not down, and the manifestation of which was only ultimately abated by growing powers of reprisal on the part of New France.

Champlain and several succeeding generations of explorers found Lake Huron by laboriously stemming the numerous rapids of Ottawa River—the original outlet of that inland sea, but a slight geological upheaval had created a rim, which thereafter separated the waters of river and lake. Thus Huron was, by this direct but difficult route, the first great lake to be discovered (1615); Ontario (1615), Superior (1616), and Michigan (1634), with their respective portage routes to the Mississippi, being next unveiled in the order named. Erie, known to the French as early as 1640, was not navigated by them until 1669, save by occasional unlicensed traders, who were surreptitiously bringing furs to the markets of the English and the Dutch allies of the Iroquois; and there is a possibility that

¹ See chap. iii., above.

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way was moved northward upon the maps, until at last the fabled "Northwest Passage" came to be relegated to the impenetrable Arctic.

Very early in the history of New France, knowledge of the Mississippi reached Quebec. Indian reports obscurely spoke of it as "a great water," emptying into some greater sea, thus leading the French at first to suppose that it was either the Pacific (or South Sea) itself, or in direct communication with that ocean. It is quite improbable that any one tribe possessed complete information regarding the entire river, in advance of white men's discovery and exploration. Certain stretches were, of course, well known to the bands dwelling along those portions of its banks; and to some extent the lower reaches of its affluents were known to them—but no doubt superstitious fear, jealousy of neighboring tribes, and absence of that curiosity which impels civilized man to exploration, combined to keep them within their own bailiwicks. Traditions and theories were passed on from one tribe to another; but the result was only vague, purblind knowledge based upon no definite conception of the geography of the continent. Thus the first white explorers—fur-traders and missionaries—often found such aboriginal information sadly perplexing.¹

The lower reaches of the Mississippi were early visited by roving Spanish adventurers from Mexico

¹ Elaborated in Thwaites, "The Great River," in *The World To-day*, VI., 184-192, 383-391.

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of"—were upon the "great river" which flowed southward to the Spaniards; but Radisson's journal, written years after their visit to Wisconsin, has no map and is couched in vague terms. Only the year before (1654), a writer in the *Jesuit Relations* averred that the sea which separates America from Asia was but nine days' journey from Green Bay—about the time necessary for a canoe trip from Green Bay to the Mississippi by the route of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.¹

At the Jesuit mission on Chequamegon Bay of Lake Superior, Father Claude Allouez obtained from the Indians (1665) some disjointed data concerning the great south-flowing waterway.² His successor, Father Jacques Marquette (1669), became especially interested in the Mississippi, the hazy reports which he received from his naked parishioners but increasing his curiosity and whetting his desire to Christianize the savages along its banks. Four years later (1673), in the company of an official explorer, Louis Jolliet, he ascended the Fox and made an easy portage to the Wisconsin, at whose mouth they found the Mississippi (June 17).³ When they started from the Jesuit mission at Mackinac Straits, the travellers were confident that the river either emptied into the South Sea (Pacific) or coursed southeastward to the Atlantic; but by the time the mouth of the Arkansas was reached, whence they

¹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XLI., 185.

² *Ibid.*, LI., 53.

³ *Ibid.*, LIX., 86-163.

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Born of a wealthy Rouen family, in 1643, La Salle became in his youth a Jesuit novice, and thus was legally debarred from inheriting his father's fortune. Of an imaginative, daring, and ambitious mind, he appears to have fretted under monastic restraint, and in his twenty-third or twenty-fourth year to have left the order, wherein it appears that he had taken the three requisite vows, served as a teacher, and been known as Frère Robert Ignace.¹ Although parting on good terms with his brethren, in later years he became a fierce opponent of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada, chiefly because his vast fur-trade projects, with the inevitable traffic in brandy, were regarded by them as tending to demoralize the Indians, and his proud spirit could brook no opposition.

Arriving in Canada in 1666, La Salle found here an ample field for his adventurous nature. He at once started upon a careful study of Indian methods and languages, and soon became a recognized expert therein, freely confided in by Frontenac, a man of kindlier character but of a like lofty ambition. It is known that during these early years of his Canadian experiences La Salle was a wide traveller. He was much with the Iroquois, both in their own country and upon hunting trips on the Ottawa; and the claim is made that, probably in 1671, he was first of white men at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) — indeed, that about that

¹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LX., 319, 320.

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In 1676 we find La Salle developing Fort Frontenac as a trading station, founding a settlement around its stout walls, introducing cattle to the district, building vessels for trading upon the lake, and spending thirty-five thousand livres on his costly although as yet somewhat unprofitable enterprise. The next year he was again in France—one marvels at the frequency with which the great traders of New France crossed the ocean, despite the weary slowness of their storm-buffed tubs of vessels; also at their tedious and almost annual visits in laboriously propelled canoes from far-distant points in the interior to the commercial centres on the lower St. Lawrence. This time he presented to the court a memorial setting forth the advantage of Fort Frontenac as a base for far-western trade, and the undoubted profits of a traffic in buffalo wool and skins towards the Mississippi Valley. A patent was granted him to build forts in that wonderful land, “through which would seem that a passage to Mexico can be found”; but he must not involve the crown in any expense—French explorers were then expected to pay their way out of a monopoly of the fur-trade in new regions—nor should he trade with tribes already regularly trafficking direct with Montreal.

¹ For life and characterization of Hennepin, see Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery*, Introd.

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fon, a vessel of fifty tons burden and bearing five guns, set sail on August 7, 1679, carrying the reunited party, and twenty days later cast anchor off Point Ignace, on the Straits of Mackinac, where was the Jesuit mission from which Jolliet and Marquette had departed on their voyage six years before.

For nearly a quarter of a century past, since the days of Radisson and Groseilliers, independent French traders (*coureurs de bois*) and black-robed Jesuit missionaries, particularly the former, had roamed quite freely through the region of the upper lakes, and very likely the upper reaches of the Mississippi. Some of these traders were at Mackinac when the *Griffon* arrived; and with them several men whom La Salle had sent up with goods in advance to barter for a cargo of furs. The leader found that his agents had been corrupted by the western itinerants, who looked askance at these wholesale and organized methods of trade, thinking that they spelled ruin to their calling. La Salle arbitrarily arrested the malecontents, who were poisoning the minds of the tribesmen against him and plotting his disaster; he also sent a detail to quiet another group of critics quartered at the neighboring Sault Ste. Marie.

The *Griffon* thence proceeded to Green Bay, where a rich store of peltries awaited her, amassed by those of the seignior's buyers who had remained loyal. The Ottawa, hereabout, being a tribe that

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Picard'') and Father Hennepin—the latter merely the usual ecclesiastical supernumerary, but as the chronicler of the voyage quite generally accepted by historians as its leader.¹ Accau's party, leaving Crèvecoeur on the last day of February, eventually reached the Falls of St. Anthony (the site of the modern Minneapolis), about five hundred miles above the mouth of the Illinois. Taken prisoners by the Sioux, they were treated as kindly as possible by their captors, but sometimes necessarily lived on short commons. After extended wanderings in northeastern Minnesota and northwestern Wisconsin, during which they shared with the natives abundant hardships, they were rescued by Tonty's cousin, Duluth, who, with four followers, was visiting the Sioux in the interests of Frontenac's fur-trade. Duluth escorted the party down the Mississippi, and over the Fox-Wisconsin trade-route to Mackinac, where the Jesuits entertained them handsomely until spring, when they could proceed down the lakes to Niagara and Fort Frontenac.

On his return to France, not long after, Hennepin wrote an entertaining account of his remarkably varied American experiences, which was published in 1682 under the title of *Description de la Louisiane*,² and had a large sale in several succeed-

¹ Up to this point Hennepin is the chief authority relative to the first western voyage of La Salle.

² La Salle had used the term "Louisiane" as early as 1679.

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bourde having been killed by Kickapoo—retreated northward out of harm's way. Crossing over to Lake Michigan, they descended along the west shore, at a time when La Salle himself was hastening up the east coast to their relief. Delayed by bad weather and Tonty's illness, it was December before his party reached the Jesuit mission at Green Bay with their story of disaster.

Meanwhile, La Salle had had a severe trip; he discovered that the *Griffon* was lost, that his agents had robbed him at Fort Frontenac, and that his creditors were not only trying to foreclose his estate but were defaming him; while commercial and political enemies were multiplying on every hand. Nevertheless, he obtained fresh credit and supplies at Montreal, and, as related above, unwittingly passed Tonty on the return voyage. Finding nothing but traces of disaster on the Illinois, he retreated to St. Joseph River, where he built Fort Miami. The next spring (1681), having at last heard of the whereabouts of Tonty and Membré, he hurried on to join them at Mackinac, the party thence journeying to their base at Fort Frontenac.

In August, with credit once more extended, but leaving behind him an enormous debt, the undaunted adventurer again started for the west with Tonty and Membré, their party consisting of fifty-four men, of whom twenty-three were French, a contingent later increased to thirty French and a hundred Indians. Dividing into two sections, they

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Salle sent back word to Tonty to yield gracefully, and soon after this La Barre's traders were swarming into the region.

La Salle himself reached Quebec safely, and, without waiting to concern himself with the governor, at once sailed for France to lay his case before the court. Hennepin's first and reasonably veracious book was now upon the market, and Canada was much in the public eye. The explorer of the far interior of this land of mystery accordingly made a good impression and found ready listeners. La Barre was ordered by the king to restore Fort Frontenac, Fort Miami, and Fort St. Louis of the Illinois to La Salle; and the latter was authorized to found colonies in Louisiana, also to govern the country between Lake Michigan and the Gulf of Mexico. He was further assisted in this imperial enterprise with four ships and nearly four hundred men.

At last heading an expedition worthy of the cause, La Salle set out from Rochelle (July 24, 1684) in high spirits. But the principal vessel was commanded by Captain Beaujeu, and soon there was bad blood between him and the often haughty and arrogant leader. The Spanish captured one of their ships, and the other three failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi. Rendezvousing in Matagorda Bay, in January, 1685, far west of their destination, another vessel was soon grounded and lost. La Salle landed his pioneers in February, and built another Fort St. Louis; but disease was rife, the

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ant had long been searching for his master, at the head of a party of twenty-five French and eleven Indians, and had left these men here on special detail. Tonty's party had descended the river, explored for thirty leagues on either side of the mouth, and returned disheartened. Tonty left in the hands of a native chief a letter for La Salle, and this was the missive which fourteen years later was handed to Iberville, as elsewhere related.¹ Joutel joined Tonty at Starved Rock, and, being outfitted by him, proceeded to Mackinac and eventually to Quebec. Apparently impelled both by a desire to obtain supplies en route, from friends of La Salle, and the wish of his relatives among the survivors to be on hand at the distribution of an estate which would surely be quarrelled over by creditors, the survivors concealed the fact of their leader's death, and the truth was not known until after their arrival in France, in October, 1688.

As for the score of miserable colonists left by La Salle at Fort St. Louis, on Matagorda Bay, the heartless king made no effort for their relief; but the Spanish, jealous of French encroachments, launched four expeditions to find them. In May, 1689, an overland party from Mexico discovered the battered palisade, and found it desolate, save for three bodies. Prowling Indians had attacked the starving crew, and either killed or imprisoned

¹ See chap. v., below. Letter dated Village des Quinipissas, April 20, 1685, in Margry, *Découvertes*, IV., 181, 190, 191.

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CHAPTER V

LOUISIANA AND THE ILLINOIS

(1697-1731)

WHEN the treaty of Ryswick (1697), closing the Palatinate War—known in America as King William's or Frontenac's—brought to Europe a temporary cessation from armed strife, Louis XIV. was prevailed upon to make an official undertaking of what had originally been so largely supported by the slender purse of La Salle. The reports of that ill-fated explorer had fired the imagination of Frenchmen in both hemispheres, and the time now seemed ripe for another attempt to execute his ambitious project of a French establishment at the mouth of the Mississippi, to be connected with the St. Lawrence colonies of New France by a continuous line of forts along the two great interlocking continental drainage troughs.

Among the men whose ambitions had been stirred by the deeds of La Salle were two hardy and chivalrous sons of Charles le Moyne, of Quebec, colonial interpreter and captain of militia—Pierre, known to history as Iberville, and his younger brother Jean Baptiste, whom from his seigniory we

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the present Mississippi City; and in February (1699) built Fort Maurepas on the Back Bay of Biloxi¹—a beautiful situation, backed by a forest of pines, walnuts, chestnuts, and live-oaks, but with unsanitary conditions, unfit water, a sterile soil, and far removed from a waterway by which the interior might readily be penetrated.

Heading a party in row-boats and canoes, composed of Bienville, Sauvole, Douay, and forty-eight men-at-arms, Iberville sailed in search of the Mississippi, rediscovered the river on March 2, "the water all muddy and very white," and proceeded two hundred miles up-stream, to the mouth of the Red. Returning, Bienville descended by the way they had come, while Iberville led half of the party through the Bayou Iberville and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain into Bay St. Louis, on the way securing from the natives a letter which the Chevalier de Tonty, La Salle's lieutenant, had written fourteen years before, when turning north from his fruitless search for his chief's reputed colony at the mouth of the great river.² Tonty had left word that this document was to be handed to the first Frenchman to appear in the region; and it was welcomed by Iberville as indisputable evidence that he had reached the country to which La Salle had drawn the attention of France.

¹ Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 31; Penicaut's "Journal," in Margry, *Découvertes*, V., is the chief authority for the daily life of the colony for several years.

² See above, chap. iv.



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Early in May (1699) Iberville returned to France with the ships, leaving Sauvole in command at Biloxi, with Bienville as lieutenant. Thereafter the founder spent a large share of his time in France or upon cruises against Spanish treasure-ships, with but occasional visits to the colony. Early in 1702, just previous to his final departure—for death overtook him at Havana four years later—he directed its removal to Twenty-seven Mile Bluff, on Mobile River, where Fort Louis of Louisiana (named for the king, not the saint) was erected. This was a more favorable position, Iberville thought; for by the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers the Indians of a large district could be reached, and from here it was possible with their help to attack, if need be, the rear of the English colonies of Carolina and Virginia and intercept their forest trade.¹ In 1710, under Bienville, another change of base was affected, because of floods—this time to higher ground, on the site of the modern Mobile.²

During the summer of 1700 Iberville ascended the Mississippi as far as the Natchez neighborhood, in company with a mining adventurer, Pierre Charles le Sueur, who at least seven years previous had been upon the upper reaches of the river, also upon the Minnesota, searching for copper, lead, and

¹ Margry, *Découvertes*, V., 587, 595-597.

² Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 42-70.

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The southern end of the range breaks down into modest hills, which were easily traversed by the Carolina traders, who with pack-horses wended their way over a comparatively level trail leading westward through the country of the village-dwelling Cherokee, and even occasionally penetrated to the Red River tribes beyond the Mississippi. But the Indian population through this table-land was relatively sparse and the tribes of the Arkansas were far distant; then, again, horse-trail traders could carry but light loads, were more subject to attack than those who swept along the northern rivers in heavily laden and well-guarded canoes and bateaux; and in their cupidity the Cherokee were wont to rob and not seldom murder the English and Scotch-Irish forest merchants. Thus the French in Louisiana long enjoyed immunity from serious commercial competition from Carolina; nevertheless, Le Sueur's discovery was ominous, and in his report to the court that autumn (September 7, 1700)¹ Iberville alludes to the growing danger of English rivalry.

To add to their uneasiness, the Spanish governor at Pensacola had but recently visited Biloxi and filed with them a protest against this wedge of French settlement, now numbering some seven hundred persons, between the Spanish of Mexico and Florida. A few years later, during Crozat's régime, Spanish vessels freely preyed upon French

¹ Margry, *Découvertes*, IV., 370-378.

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Iberville and Sauvole soon passing away, Bienville remained until 1743 the principal historical figure in Louisiana. Others occasionally occupied the post of governor; but Bienville, as devoted and disinterested as Champlain, was throughout this protracted period the chief actor, and powerfully and beneficently influenced the colony. During his long supremacy the wide-stretching region of Louisiana was the scene of many fruitful events.

Not unnaturally, Iberville's venture occasioned great alarm among the fur merchants of Canada. Just as their operations upon the upper Mississippi were becoming important, this new danger arose, of a probable diversion down that river of trade that had heretofore sought an opening by way of the St. Lawrence. Their concern was not lessened when in 1701 Governor Callières received notice from the court that the new province of Louisiana would be governed direct from France, not from Quebec, Iberville being named as the king's representative in the south.¹

In 1712, Sieur Antoine Crozat was granted for twelve years a monopoly of trade, mining, land grants, and slavery in Louisiana, to which "the laws, edicts, and ordinances of the realm, and the custom of Paris" were extended; although the grantee was given certain powers of nomination that placed in his hands not a little political control. In this charter, which gave to Louisiana its

¹ Margry, *Découvertes*, V., 591, 606,

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Illinois, and Natchitoches,¹ the last-named a buffer against the hostile attitude of the Spanish towards French encroachments to the southwest.

Prominent among the purposes of the founders of Louisiana was the development of an overland commerce with the Spanish colonies to the southwest. Texas was at this time claimed by the Spanish, and their trading caravans had visited the Indians of the district; but, thus far, there had been no attempt at settlement. The French also claimed the territory by virtue of La Salle's colony, which had been thwarted by Spanish machinations. In 1714, Bienville despatched an expedition under Louis Juchereau, the Sieur de St. Denis, who reached a Spanish mission on the Gila River. There he formed such pleasant relations with his hosts that he proceeded to the city of Mexico, and returned in 1716 with a favorable report to his superior. A second expedition under his charge, with which were associated six adventurous Canadians, followed the same route; the Canadians returned to Mobile after a profitable trade, but St. Denis was imprisoned by the Spanish, and two years elapsed before his release.² Meanwhile (1717), the French erected a fort at Natchitoches, near Red River, only seven leagues from a Spanish outpost in Texas.³ This vantage was maintained throughout the

¹ French, *La. Hist. Collections*, III., 84.

² Margry, *Découvertes*, VI., 193-199; *Journal Historique*, 116, 129, 130. ³ *Journal Historique*, 131; Margry, VI., 252-255.

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expeditions set forth from the Illinois rather than from Louisiana. Reports are extant concerning enterprises of this character in 1734 and 1739—the caravan in the latter year being apparently headed by two brothers, Pierre and Paul Mallet, who seem successfully to have reached Santa Fé, the seat of Spanish trade in those parts. They returned by way of New Orleans, where Bienville was delighted at the result of so far - reaching an exploration. Among the experiences of these adventurers, near the head-waters of the Arkansas, was what was possibly the first sight by Frenchmen of the Rocky Mountains, nearly four years before the celebrated discovery by Chevalier Vérendrye of the Bighorn Range, far to the north.¹

French Jesuits had operated in the Illinois country as early as Marquette, but their ministrations were in Indian villages along the Illinois River. In 1699 the Sulpicians opened a mission at Cahokia, on the Mississippi, and the year following the Jesuits removed their establishment to the neighboring Kaskaskia.² Fort Chartres (1720)—a stout fortress, designed to check growing English encroachments on the Ohio and the Mississippi—St. Philippe (1723), and Prairie du Rocher (1733) followed in due course.³

¹ This record of French exploration in the southwest is based chiefly on documents in Margry, *Découvertes*, VI.

² Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXV., 101-105, 263.

³ So Moses, *Illinois*; Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*; Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*. But the chronology is still in some confusion.

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exchange for their products, the thrifty Illinois *habitants* received many luxuries and refinements directly from Europe and other French colonies—sugar, rice, indigo, cotton, manufactured tobacco, and goods of like character—and these interior settlements were long regarded as the garden of New France.¹

At first the Illinois settlements were governed from Canada, although their trade relations were naturally more intimate with Louisiana than with the lower St. Lawrence. Indeed, despite the protests of the Quebec officials, who were alarmed over this diversion of the Mississippi trade, there was now but slight connection with Canada. The old portage routes connecting the divergent drainage systems of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi had fallen into comparative disuse. Several causes contributed to this result: the reduction of trading-posts on the Great Lakes, under the economical policy of Governor Callières's administration; the continued hostility of the Fox Indians in Wisconsin;² the physical hardships of these routes; but in large measure the careful fostering of the more convenient southern trade and the growing bulk of exports. The people of the Illinois henceforth looked upon

¹ Contemporary descriptions in *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, IX., 891; Du Pratz, *Louisiana*, 301–303; Pittman, *Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi* (1770), 42, 43, 55; Charlevoix, in *Journal Historique* (1744), 394–396.

² See documents in *Wis. Hist. Collections*, XVI., XVII.

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Indian blood — soon forgot the feverish and unwonted energy of artificial stimulus. The villages of the mid-country resumed their natural status of sleepy little fur-trade and mission stations, and thus remained until the downfall of New France.

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Indian possessions were, with their subtropical climate, particularly adapted to the profitable use of slave labor and to the paternal form of government which France employed alike at home and in the colonies. Coffee and sugar from the French colonies began to drive from the European markets the productions of the rival English islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and their smaller neighbors; England was also, for a time, losing ground along the Mediterranean, in the Levant, and in far-off India. French merchant shipping grew from three hundred vessels, at the time of Louis's death, to eighteen hundred in 1735.¹

While Fleuri was dominating France, the English prime-minister was Sir Robert Walpole. Both statesmen strongly desired peace in western Europe, and in the face of many difficulties long maintained it. But there were irresistible forces at work, largely originating in differences of temperament between the two peoples, which tended to neutralize their efforts at a good understanding. France and England were engaged in a long-standing rivalry for the possession of lands over-seas, which might be colonized and thereby made to assist in the development of national commerce. Naval strength is the predominant factor in colonizing and the pushing of colonial trade. The mistress of the seas controls the ocean lanes, can keep open against all comers the necessary lines of communication be-

¹ Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 243.

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per with each other's Indians; but, as pointed out in a previous chapter,¹ there was much smuggling across the lines—French merchants obtaining low-priced goods from New York and Albany; Englishmen purchasing peltries from French dealers, and even directly from *coureurs de bois* who operated in the region of Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie and surreptitiously sought the English market. In 1724 it was affirmed by a careful observer² that, contrary to law, Albany merchants, instead of exclusively patronizing tribes allied to the English, were obtaining four-fifths of their skins "from the French of Mont Royall and Canada"; and several English traders were prosecuted and punished for this serious offence.

The issue relative to the proprietorship of the trans-Alleghany region was soon raised by English colonial officials. In 1686 Denonville reported to Versailles that letters written to him by Governor Dongan of New York "will notify you sufficiently of his pretensions which extend no less than from the lakes, inclusive, to the South Sea. Missilimakinac is theirs. They have taken its latitude; have been to trade there with our Outawas and Huron Indians, who received them cordially on account of the bargains they gave." Denonville pleads for definite information from the court, relative to the

¹ See chap. iv., above.

² Colden, "Memoir on the Fur Trade," in *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, V., 726-733.

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was as yet in no hurry; she could afford to play a waiting game. Outside of the official class, the West was to tide-water provincials but a misty region; hence, for a generation longer, the rival forest traders were allowed to fight it out among themselves.

In 1729, however, an official step towards strengthening the French position was taken by the chief engineer of New France, Chaussegros de Léry, at the head of a small military reconnaissance which, during a lull in Iroquois opposition, proceeded to the Ohio over the Chautauqua portage, and surveyed the river down to the mouth of the Great Miami. Up to this time the French, familiar with the country eastward, had not penetrated much farther to the northwest than the shores of lakes Superior and Nepigon. In common with the English, however, they were showing a renewed interest in seeking the supposititious waterway through the American continent that should more closely unite Europe with China and India.¹ Between 1719 and 1747 the Hudson's Bay Company, reluctantly spurred by popular demand, made several half-hearted attempts to discover the Northwest Passage, which many thought to emerge from the western shore of Hudson Bay.

During the same period the explorers of New France busied themselves with similar projects. In 1720 the Jesuit traveller and historian, Father Charlevoix, was despatched from France on a tour

¹ See chap. iv., above.

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Indians, whose notions of geography were often quite vague, he conceived a plan for seeking the Pacific by means of the vast net-work of lakes and rivers that stretches westward from Lake Superior by way of Pigeon River, Lake of the Woods, Rainy Lake and River, Lake Winnipeg, the Assiniboin, and the Saskatchewan. His report that the ocean might thus be reached within five hundred leagues from Lake Superior¹ won powerful official support; he was accordingly granted a monopoly of the fur-trade north and west of Lake Superior, upon the supposed profits of which he was to undertake extensive exploring expeditions.

Vérendrye suffered from the customary fickleness of court patronage, and through the machinations of rivals soon found himself neglected and a bankrupt. Nevertheless, with marvellous energy and perseverance, he had by the year 1738 established what was officially styled the "Post of the Western Sea," a line of six "forts built of stockades . . . that can give protection only against the Indians . . . and trusted generally to the care of one or two officers, seven or eight soldiers, and eighty *engagés*. From them the English movements can be watched" and "the discovery of the Western Sea may be accomplished." These outposts were St. Pierre on Rainy Lake, St. Charles on Lake of the Woods, Maurepas at the mouth of the Winnipeg, Bourbon

¹ Text in Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, VI., 145-150.

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this formidable enemy were of small avail. The fur-trade of the West, so essential to the life of New France, was nearly paralyzed; the people of the Illinois, on the farther side of the barrier, had become almost exclusively patrons of the southern trade; profitable fur-bearing animals had retreated from the hunters farther and farther inland; and now little was left to the forest merchants of Quebec and Montreal save the peltries snatched from the barren lands of the far northwest.¹

For a generation the "Post of the Western Sea" caused grave concern among the "smug ancient gentlemen" of the Hudson's Bay Company. The southern half of the enormous territory which Charles had so freely granted to them was dominated by the adventurous French, who not only alienated the confidence of the tribesmen, but won the native trade. Rivalry such as this was farther-reaching than when the Canadians held the shore forts upon the bay and attempted to operate them from the sea, for the latter were now in their element as wilderness rangers. Moreover, the men of France now had at their back a chain of forts quite stout enough for immediate needs, stretching across the continental interior like a gigantic letter **T**, its horizontal bar a transcontinental system extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the head-waters of the Saskatchewan, and its stem commanding

¹ Documents in *Wis. Hist. Collections*, XVI., XVII., throw new light on the Fox war.

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the two Bourbon courts agreed to support each other in case of the outbreak of war. Under this arrangement it now became necessary for France, reluctant though she was, with all her forces to assist Spain by land and sea. While the former was, therefore, not nominally a party to the struggle, she became so to all intents and purposes. Thus the peaceful dreams of Walpole and Fleuri were interrupted by a current of events which they had vainly sought to stem.

Two years later the English peace minister was driven from power by men who, like Pitt—his star rising while Walpole's waned—felt that there should be no further hesitation to compass that defeat of the Bourbons which was essential to Great Britain's growth as an imperial power; and who were beginning to perceive that such growth must largely be based upon control of the sea. A British ultimatum called on Spain to renounce the right of searching vessels, and expressly to acknowledge the English claims in North America—among these latter being one relating to the undetermined southern boundary of the colony of Georgia, which had been but recently established (1732) to the north of Florida.¹

Spain promptly despatched to the West Indies, which both sides had selected as the logical battleground, a considerable fleet convoyed by a French squadron of twenty-two ships, for the presence of

¹ *S. C. Hist. Collections*, I., 203; *Stevens, Georgia*, I., 140-160.

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General Thomas Wentworth commanded the troops, nine thousand in number.

The new-comers had suffered greatly on the voyage, from bad weather and sickness, and throughout the campaign there was a heavy mortality from the wretched sanitary conditions. March 3 the forces again landed before Cartagena; but after a long and weak siege, during which the troops suffered greatly from mismanagement and the leaders continually wrangled, the demoralized army was (April 17) withdrawn in the fleet to England. The grewsome horrors of the expedition, and the unfortunate quarrel of the commanders, have been preserved for us in literature by Smollett,¹ a supporter of Wentworth, and then a surgeon on one of the ships of the line. Later (1746), Vernon was dismissed the service, his choleric temper having led him into an open quarrel with the admiralty board.

It had been the intention of the government to aid Vernon with a co-operating expedition. For this purpose Commodore George Anson was ordered from the west coast of Africa, where for three years he had been protecting English trade against French assaults, to round Cape Horn and join Vernon on the Pacific side of the Panama isthmus. Anson's little squadron of six ships, with the usual poor

¹ *Roderick Random*, chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii. For technical account of Vernon's expedition, see Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 52–80.

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The victorious Anson at once started for home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Favored by a fog which hid him from the view of the French Channel fleet, he safely anchored at Spithead (June 15, 1744), having harried Spanish commerce around the globe.¹ England had at last good occasion for being in an ecstasy of joy. The gallant sea-dogs were paraded through city and country with bands and banners, and the government, which had contributed so slightly to the success of the brilliant expedition, made a rear-admiral of its commander, who in later wars was, as Lord Anson, to add still greater lustre to British arms.

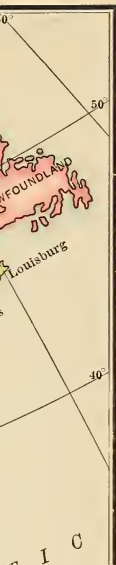
¹ See Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 320-324, for details of Anson's expedition.

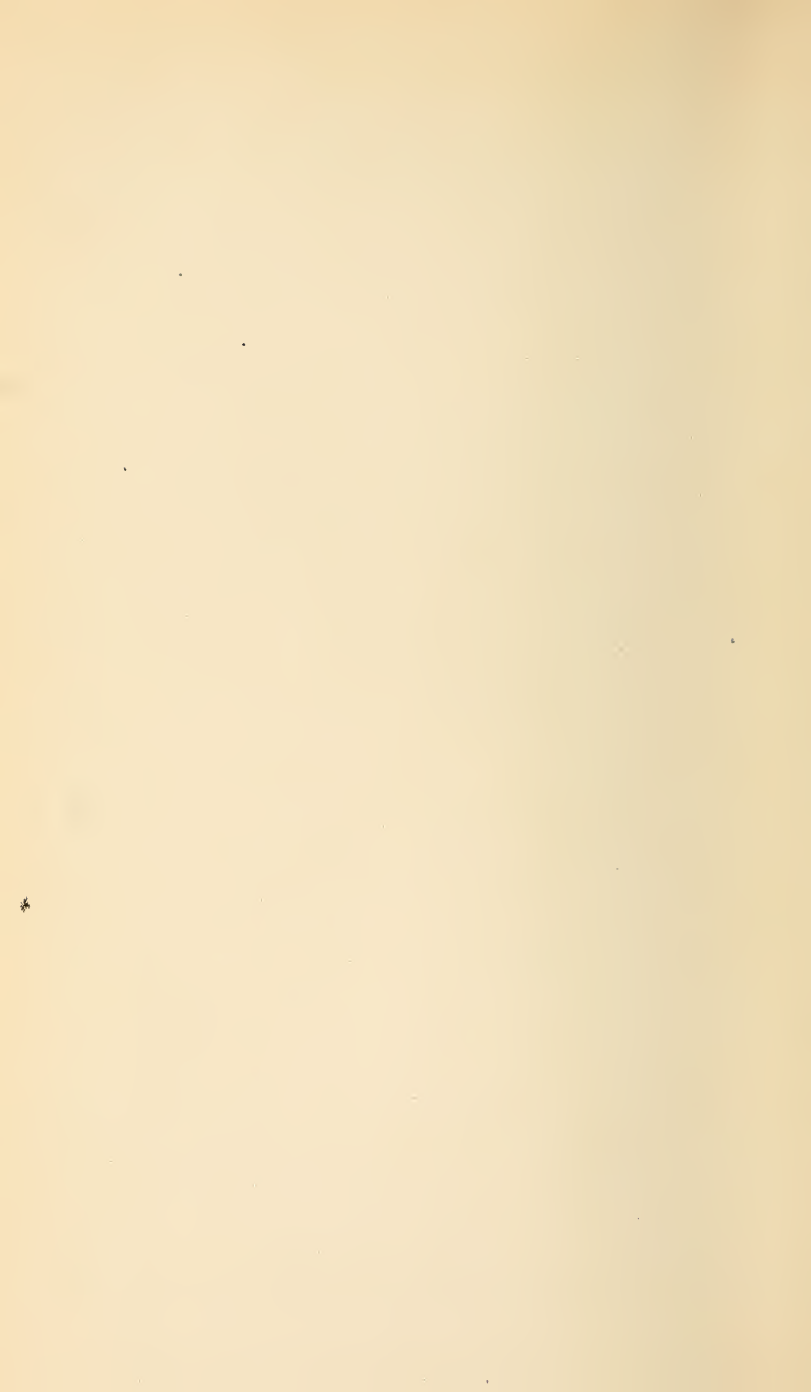
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must result. March 21, 1744, the government at Whitehall at last proclaimed war; had this decision been made two years sooner, doubtless the struggle might have correspondingly been shortened. Our present interest lies solely in events which now transpired in America, where the encounter is known as King George's War.

After the cession to England of Newfoundland and Acadia, under the treaty of Utrecht, the French troops withdrew to Cape Breton (l'Île Royale), which they contended was not included in the cession; although English claims classed that island as a part of Nova Scotia, from which it is separated by the narrow strait of Canso, a waterway about the width of the Hudson River at New York. At the southern end of the strait was the important English fishing station of Canseau, protected by a stockaded block-house.

Selecting as their base a rugged harbor called Port à l'Anglais, on the eastern coast of Cape Breton, the French gradually erected there the fortress of Louisburg, accounted the stoutest stronghold on the western coast of the Atlantic, being planned by some of the most competent military engineers of their day, and costing about thirty million livres, equivalent to \$10,000,000. From the first, Louisburg was a thorn in the side of New England. The sea-fisheries were quite as necessary to the welfare of the English coast colonists as the fur-trade was to New France. In sailing





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to the south the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹ A new fort at Niagara was designed to overawe England's savage auxiliaries, "the devoring Iroquois"; Fort Chambly was to protect Montreal from further inroads by way of the now familiar war route through the geological trough occupied by the Hudson River and lakes George and Champlain; and Fort Frédéric, at Crown Point, on the west shore of Lake Champlain, still further strengthened this line of defence.²

Meanwhile, in all North America, England's garrisons aggregated but nine hundred men.³ Her colonists themselves were in each province torn by dissensions, so that little was done save to rail at the French. Governor Burnet of New York, at his own expense, built a fortified fur-trading post at Oswego (1727) as a rival to Niagara; and it has been told how Massachusetts advanced her firing-line along the Kennebec frontier;⁴ but further we find slight progress on the part of the English bordermen, between the treaty of Utrecht and the opening of King George's War. Indeed, it now seemed to many observers quite possible for New France to hem in her rival to the Atlantic slope; and there were those among her master-spirits whose ambition stopped at nothing short of a policy of North America for the French alone.

¹ See chap. vi., above.

² Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, II., chap. xvii.

³ Fortescue, *British Army*, II., 256.

⁴ See chap. ii., above.

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prisoners being given their choice of retiring within a year either to England or one of the English colonies, many of them proceeded in the autumn to Boston.¹

A like war-party, chiefly composed of Micmac and Malecite Indians, was sent against Annapolis (Port Royal), where Colonel Mascarene, governor of Nova Scotia, with a small body of men, stoutly stood his ground behind the old ramparts and a full equipment of cannon. Duvivier joined the besiegers after the capture of Canseau, but could make no headway against the gallant Huguenot. Reinforcements arriving from New England, Duvivier at the close of September retired to Louisburg, to be sneered at and censured for mismanagement.²

These attacks on their Acadian outposts had greatly exasperated the New-Englanders, and plans for the capture of Louisburg were formulated by several ingenious persons whose bitterness against the French was far greater than their knowledge of military science.³ Parkman gives credit for the adopted scheme to William Vaughn, the intelligent, well-educated, but headstrong proprietor of large fishing interests at the mouth of Damariscotta River and on the island of Matinicus, off the Maine coast, and an officer in the attacking force. Pepperrell claimed that Colonel John Bradstreet was the

¹ Bourinot, *Cape Breton*, 37.

² *Ibid.*, 37, 38; Richard, *Acadia*, I., 203-205.

³ Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, II., 83-85.

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placed under his command; but he was popularly appreciated as a man of sense and tact, qualities which soon were to stand him well in stead. Of this motley company of rustics and fishermen—some of whom had been bushrangers on the Indian frontier or had smelled powder on board New England privateers but all equally guiltless of regular military discipline—Massachusetts contributed 3300, Connecticut 516, and New Hampshire 454—150 of the New Hampshire men being in the pay of Massachusetts; Rhode Island also raised 150, but they arrived on the scene too late to participate. The naval force, under Captain Edward Tyng, a privateersman with some experience under fire, consisted of thirteen armed vessels carrying an aggregate of 216 guns of all sorts and sizes, the heaviest caliber being twenty-two pounders. For transports, there were taken into the service ninety fishing-boats, in which the militiamen found slight shelter from the “terrible northeast storm” which now swept the Maine coast, and on the voyage they suffered greatly from exposure and sea-sickness.¹

Sadly buffeted by wind and waves, the fleet gradually assembled in the port of Canseau. While a detachment of the land forces were rebuilding the block-house, Tyng was cruising off Louisburg, and captured several French prizes laden with supplies

¹ See MS. diaries of the period, chiefly preserved in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. See Bourinot, *Cape Breton*, 41, for lists of vessels and troops.

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tending to the sea-side, lay a wide expanse of morass, which was impassable for heavy bodies of troops. The narrow mouth of the harbor is strewn with reefs and islands, upon the largest of the latter being planted a strong battery; but this is dominated by Lighthouse Point, on the opposite side of the entrance. Westward of the bay, the country consists of low, rocky undulations, at the time of the attack clothed with a dense growth of cedar, stunted spruce, and other evergreens; this rough country, affording fine cover for an enemy, approached closely to the west gate. Upon the south shore of the harbor, a mile away, and abutting the hills, the Grand (or Royal) Battery, a small fortress in itself, also commanded the harbor entrance.

Pepperrell was without engineers; he had a few skilled artillerists, with experience on New England privateers worrying French and Spanish commerce, and Warren lent him several from the fleet; but neither the general nor his men understood the first principles of the arts of siege. Yet his landing, at the head of Gabarus Bay, on April 30 and May 1, was rather skilfully performed; the French outposts were easily driven in, batteries were soon established, and the English securely intrenched. The uncouth but on the whole effective movements of the invaders greatly perplexed the garrison, and appear from their strangeness to have in a measure unnerved them.¹

¹Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, II., 125.

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vessel was captured, laden with ammunition and provisions, which were quite as essential for the besiegers as for the besieged; for the colonial army soon ran short of stores of every description, and during the final three weeks was threadbare, while shoes were at a premium. Camp diseases also harried the provincials, and once (May 28) but twenty-one hundred men out of the four thousand were fit for duty.¹

Fresh arrivals from time to time increased Warren's fleet to eleven ships, with an aggregate of five hundred and twenty-four guns,² now quite sufficient effectively to aid in the bombardment, which by the middle of June had laid the town in ruins, it being calculated that nine thousand cannon-balls and six hundred bombs had been planted within the walls. In due time Lighthouse Point was gained by the English, and then the Island Battery succumbed. Finally, overcome by terror, the inhabitants compelled the garrison to surrender, which it did June 16, with the stipulation that the troops should march out with arms and colors, but that all within the fortress, soldier or civilian, should take oath not again to bear arms against King George or his allies during the ensuing twelvemonth.³ On the following day War-

¹ Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, II., 131.

² Douglass, *Summary of the British Settlements*, I., 351.

³ Text of correspondence and capitulation, in Parsons, *Pepperrell*, 95-99; *Collection de documents relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, III., 221-226.

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Boston received the news by an express boat, early in the morning of July 3. The townspeople were at once awakened by booming cannon and clanging bells, and a noisy day was succeeded by a night of bonfires, fireworks, and window illumination, followed in due course by the usual day of thanksgiving. New York and Philadelphia in turn celebrated in like manner, and England was as vociferous as over the victories of Vernon and Anson. Warren was made an admiral; Pepperrell, who had spent £10,000 of his own fortune, largely in entertaining his brother-officers at camp, was created a baronet and made colonel of a fresh regiment to be raised among his doughty followers, who by this time had earned the standing of regulars; while Shirley also was remembered with a similar colonelcy. Massachusetts, having spent £183,469 on the expedition, in time had that sum returned from Whitehall, the reimbursement being promptly and wisely devoted to the redemption of her wretchedly depreciated paper currency. The other contributing colonies were not forgotten in the general enthusiasm, and also secured the rebate of their expenditures.

Pepperrell had left at Louisburg a garrison of twenty-five hundred men. The fort was in so foul a state after the siege that a pestilence broke out during the winter, which swept off nearly nine hundred of the men,¹ while by spring the majority of

¹ Shirley to Newcastle, May 10, 1746, cited in Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, II., 167.

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to defend the coast. The armada had, indeed, reached American waters; but, as if in answer to the combined prayers of the New England churches, it was dispersed by a tempest off the coast of Nova Scotia, its half-starved crews returning crestfallen to France.¹

The next year (1747) a new French fleet was assembled for vengeance on the English colonies in America; but Admirals Anson and Warren engaged the squadron off Rochelle and utterly vanquished it.² This fresh display of superiority of sea-power probably alone saved the colonists, for Newcastle gave them no further material assistance. He shipped to Annapolis three hundred soldiers, half of whom died on shipboard, while many others deserted to the French, who were keeping Acadia in an uproar. Massachusetts, determined that the peninsula should not be lost through default, sent thither a considerable reinforcement, which, by dint of some sharp fighting with the Acadian rangers and their Indian allies, maintained English supremacy.³

¹ Douglass, *Summary of the British Settlements*; Longfellow, "Ballad of the French Fleet":

"Oh, Lord! we would not advise,
But if in thy providence
A tempest should arise,
To drive the French fleet hence,
And scatter it far and wide,
Or sink it in the sea,
We should be satisfied,
And thine the glory be."

² Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 124-127.

³ Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, II., 198-220; Richard, *Acadia*, chaps. xi., xii.

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struggle with France for the mastery of the continent.¹

In the northwest the Hudson's Bay Company was prepared for the worst. Each agent was instructed vigorously to defend his post against the French, and in the event of defeat to "destroy everything that be of service to the enemy, and make the best retreat you can."² Their vessel, the *Prince Rupert* (one hundred and eighty tons), was given letters of marque against both French and Spanish shipping, and strict watch was kept on Davis Straits for vessels of the allies. But the fall of Louisburg saved the company from further apprehension; for thenceforth England's superiority on the high seas was evident, and no French craft could be spared for such northern waters.

Weary of the long, exhaustive, and apparently futile conflict, which had been so destructive of life and treasure, France and England agreed to desist, in July, 1748, and in the following October signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.³ By this agreement all conquests were mutually restored. The news of the surrender of Louisburg, which had been won and for two years retained chiefly by New England valor and blood, caused intense dissatisfaction throughout the colonies, and tended still further to

¹ Lives by Stone and Buell.

² Instructions to council at Albany Fort, May 10, 1744, in Willson, *Great Company*, 258.

³ Text in Chalmers, *Treaties*, I., 424-442; extracts in MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 251-253.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE OF NEW FRANCE

(1750)

BEFORE entering upon the story of the last and fateful struggle between France and England for the mastery of the North American continent, it will be helpful briefly to study the people of the warring colonies; for the contest was not only national, it was largely a measuring of strength between social and political systems fundamentally opposed to each other and unable permanently to exist as neighbors.

The climate of Canada was not as well adapted to the purposes of seventeenth-century colonization as that wherein the English colonies had been planted. In our day of superior agricultural knowledge, methods, and utensils, a new colony might soon acquaint itself with the climate and soil conditions of the lower St. Lawrence, and by mastering the production problem become self-supporting. In the period of New France, however, even the most favorably situated European plantations in America had for several seasons practically to be maintained from the mother-land, and starvation was

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most of the deep-sea fishers required government assistance. Characteristically unwilling to leave their homes for inhospitable foreign shores, it was found necessary artificially to stimulate the industry,¹ and many harsh measures seemed essential, to make the situation unpleasant for English poachers; yet the latter were often able clandestinely to sell their cargoes to the enterprising French.² Sometimes Frenchmen, however, would put in their nets as far south as Cape Cod; and conflicts between rival fishing fleets were not infrequent incidents, tending to keep alive the long-smouldering sparks of racial hostility.³

The fur-trade was the most important of the French colonial interests, and practically a government monopoly. The great river flowing past their doors, which drained an immense and unknown area of forested wilderness, peopled with strange tribes of wild men, fired the imagination of the men of New France. In an age of exploration, and themselves among the most inquisitive and adventurous people of Europe, Frenchmen—led by Champlain himself, who had the *wanderlust* within his veins—pushed their way in birch canoes up the St. Lawrence and its great affluents, the Saguenay, the Ottawa, the Richelieu, and their wide-stretching drainage systems. Soon they discovered, in the

¹ Marmette, in *Canadian Archives*, 1888, cxxxvii.

² Bourinot, *Cape Breton*, 31; Murdoch, *Nova Scotia*, 430.

³ Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, I., 106-108.

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bonds to induce migration thither.¹ Unlike the English, however, the French have never been fond of colonizing. A complete satisfaction with home conditions, rendering them unwilling to look abroad, is even in our day deprecated by many wise Frenchmen as a serious national weakness. Bounties to immigrants, importation of unmarried women to wed the superabundant bachelors, ostracism for the unmarried of either sex, official rewards for large families—all these measures were freely and persistently adopted by the French colonial officials. And yet, after nearly a century and a half, but eighty thousand whites constituted the semi-dependent and unprogressive population of Canada and Louisiana, over a stretch of territory above two thousand miles in length, against the million and a quarter of self-supporting English colonists, who for the most part were, from Georgia to New Hampshire, massed on the narrow coast between the Appalachians and the sea.

The government of New France was that of an autocracy, continually subject to direction from Versailles, where a fickle-minded monarch and a corrupt court played fast and loose with their often misguided colony.² The colony was governed quite

¹ Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 95, 115, 136.

² For general survey, see Garneau, *Canada* (Bell's trans.), I., book III., chap. iii.; Parkman, *Old Régime*, chap. xvi.; Bourinot, in *Const. Hist. of Canada*, 7-11, and "Local Government in Canada," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, V., 10-20.

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for even warrants for fines and imprisonments must be issued from Quebec; and subordinate courts, established by an attorney-general who was stationed at the capital, were to be found at all important villages. The officers of justice were appointed without regard to their legal qualifications, being chosen by favor from among the military men or the prominent inhabitants.

Local government was absolutely unknown. No public meetings for any purpose whatsoever, even to discuss the pettiest affairs of the parish or the market, were permitted unless special license be granted by the intendant, a document seldom even applied for. "Not merely was [the Canadian colonist] allowed no voice in the government of his Province, or the choice of his rulers, but he was not even permitted to associate with his neighbors for the regulation of those municipal affairs which the central authority neglected under the pretext of managing."¹ Absolutism and centralization could not have been more securely intrenched.

In order that nothing might be lacking in this autocratic system, there was created by Richelieu, in the charter of the Hundred Associates (1627), an order of nobility. None was needed in so raw a colony, where poverty was the rule, and democracy more nearly fitted the needs of the situation;

¹ Earl of Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (January 31, 1839), 16. See also Parkman, *Old Régime*, 280, 281.

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spaces. The traveller of to-day sees upon the lower St. Lawrence, on the Saguenay, and in picturesque Gaspé, many scores of communities of this sort, survivals of the French régime.

Now and then a seignior was comparatively prosperous, as when given a district with fishing rights, assuring him toll upon his tenants' catch; but the lord was often quite as poor as his *habitants*, and continually subject to arbitrary official interference of every sort, even as to agreements between himself and his tenants (*censitaires*). Unless the seignior cleared his land within a stated time it was forfeited; and when he sold it a fifth of the price obtained was due, although not always paid, to his feudal superior. The rents obtainable from his tenants were generally in kind, and apt to be trifling—from four to sixteen francs annually for an ordinary holding. On his part, the tenant was supposed to patronize his seignior's grist-mill, to bake his bread (for a consideration) in the seigniorial oven, to do manual labor for him during a few days each year, and for the privilege of fishing before his own door to present the seignior with one fish in every eleven. But these duties were more nominal than real, and often the tenant's obligation was satisfied upon the annual performance of some petty act of ceremony—thus did they with serious aspect play at feudalism and satisfy the pride of the lords of the manor. But the seignior had no more voice in public affairs than his tenant—both were

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as solicitous as he himself of the dignity of his caste.¹

A full third of the population was engaged in the fur-trade. From it the peasants, boatmen (*voyageurs*), trading-post clerks, and trappers won but the barest subsistence; many of the seigniors made heavy gains, although others, of an extremely adventurous type, like La Salle and Vérendrye, were swamped by the enormous expenses of the exploring expeditions which they undertook in the effort both to extend their own fields of operation and the sphere of French influence. The military officers at the wilderness outposts dabbled largely in this commerce; indeed, many of them, like Vérendrye, were given the trade monopoly of a considerable district as their only compensation. There are numerous instances of such officials amassing comfortable fortunes for that day, and retiring to France to spend them; although often their fur-trade, legitimate or illegitimate, was less responsible for such results than the peculation in which nearly all of them were engaged.

For corruption, especially during the closing years, was rampant throughout New France. The governor and ecclesiastics were seldom under the ban of suspicion; but the intendant was quite apt to be a rare rascal, and from him down to the commandant of the most far-away stockade extended a graded,

¹ Lahontan, *Voyages*, gives graphic pictures of the life of the colonial *noblesse*.

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Even the French fur-trade was confronted by this demoralizing practice. It has been shown that their forest merchants were unable to offer as high prices for furs, in barter, as the English, owing to the greater cost of obtaining goods suitable for the Indian trade through the monopoly which hung over them as a pall; whereas Englishmen enjoyed free trade and open competition.¹ Wherever English traders could penetrate—into the Cherokee country, into the Ohio Valley, along the lower Great Lakes, on the Kennebec border, and upon the New York and New Hampshire frontier—the savages, keen at a bargain, would make long journeys to reach them with their pelts. The French inflamed the natural hatred of their allies for the English as a people, and resorted to bullying and often to force to prevent this diversion of custom, but often without avail.

Ecclesiastical affairs occupied a large share of popular attention in New France.² The bishop and his priests ruled not only in matters spiritual, but in most of those temporal concerns that came nearest to the daily life of the people, being, indeed, "fathers" to their flocks. No community, whether of fishers, *habitants*, fur-traders, or soldiers was without either its secular priest or its missionary friar. The chapel or the church was the nucleus of every village. Being generally the only educated

¹ See chaps. iii., vi., above.

² Parkman, *Old Régime*, chap. xix.

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moral courage. It is not necessary to be a Catholic, nor is it essential that from the stand-point of the twentieth century we should endorse the wisdom of its every act in the eighteenth, most profoundly to admire the work of the Church of Rome both among whites and savages in New France. American history would lose much of its welcome color were there blotted from its pages the picturesque and often thrilling story of the curés and friars of Canada in the French régime.

The one great mistake of the church, which all can now recognize, was the barring-out of the Huguenots from New France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, thereby driving to rival English settlements a considerable share of the brains and brawn of France, thus building up the rival at the expense of Canada.¹

Practically there were no manufactures in New France. Many of the vessels engaged in interior commerce were smuggled through from New England ship-yards. The fisheries were, as we have seen, to some extent artificially fostered. Agriculture was neglected, beyond the mere necessities of subsistence. Arms, hunting, and the fur-trade were the only callings that prospered among these mercurial, imaginative, and obedient folk, who were the victims of a paternal and military government that had not trained them to work without leading-strings. They were distinctly a people who needed,

¹ See chap. i., above.

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presence or absence of grievances with their English patrons and on the plausibility of French diplomacy, which was ever busy among these astute warriors.

With the exception, chiefly, of the Iroquois and the Foxes, the tribesmen entertained a real affection for the French, who, greatly desiring their trade, cultivated their alliance and treated them as friends and equals; an attitude far different from that of the English, who for the most part dealt with them honestly as customers, but could not conceal either their dislike of an inferior people or the fact that they were looked upon as subjects. French traders, explorers, and adventurers lived among the savages, took Indian women for their consorts, reared half-breed families, and, although representatives of the most polished nation of Europe, for the time being acted as though to the forest born.

French missionaries succeeded in the Indian villages as no Protestant Englishman, with his cold type of Christianity, has ever done. The French father lived with the brown people, shared their privations and burdens, and ministered with loving and sacrificing zeal both to their spiritual and their physical wants. (Moreover, the Catholic church, with its combination of mysticism and ritualistic pomp, its banners and processions and symbolic images and pictures, strongly appealed to the barbarians.) If not really Christianized—and there is room seriously to doubt whether more than the

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fretted Englishmen, had enjoyed a fine schooling in the hardy and adventurous life of the forest, and were warlike and quick in action. Whereas their English rivals had been reared to trade, to love peace, to deliberate before they acted, to count the cost, and to resent dictation. The English system was more favorable to peaceful growth; the French autocracy was better suited for war. New France was but a pygmy, but she certainly had a good fighting chance.

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serious danger of all, to New France, lay in the fact that the hunters, trappers, fur-traders, and cattlemen of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were at last venturing by scores through the passes of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, and appropriating lands and forest trade upon westerling waters, which France had long considered quite her own.

The thirteen colonies were almost as isolated from one another as they were from Europe. Outside of the New England group, few persons undertook to journey from one to the other, and those were generally either officials or occasional tourists from Europe—save seamen, who conducted a considerable intercolonial commerce. Coasting vessels transported most of the travellers, for water was an easier highway than land, the rough wagon-roads and rude bridle-paths often leading through dense forests, with infrequent bridges.

Had there been no differences of race, creed, and ideals, the result of this isolation would of itself naturally breed jealousy and distrust. The New-Englander seldom even saw his compatriot from the middle colonies or the south. Men in self-governing communities, thus dwelling apart, were largely taken up with their petty local village or plantation interests; only the broader-minded few gave a thought to the affairs of their own province; and still more rare was the colonist who cared to know what was doing beyond his provincial borders.

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apart, of borderers who existed directly upon the resources of the forest, game and fish being their principal food, while the skins of the deer and the elk constituted the greater part of their clothing. Often, for the first few seasons, the outpost settler grew no crops, either because—graceless, untutored, fretting under any form of restraint—he detested plodding employment, or because his aboriginal but scarcely more savage neighbors resented his presence on their hunting-grounds and occasionally drove him back towards the older settlements. Perhaps twenty-five or more miles farther eastward was the second border-line, distinguished by the log-cabins of men who were raising horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, which grazed at will upon the corrugated uplands of the western Carolinas or on the broad slopes of the valley of Virginia. Life among these range-men resembled that experienced upon the ranches of our own Far West, if we allow for the differences wrought by the social changes of a century and a half, the proximity of railroads, and the substitution of the plains for the forest. The annual round-up, the branding of young stock, the sometimes deadly disputes between herdsmen, and the autumnal drive to market are features in common. Still eastward, another fifty miles or so, were the small, rough holdings of the border farmers, separated by long stretches of forest from the more thickly settled and prosperous country which a generation or two before had itself been the border.

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the various colonies, but most numerous, because most profitable, in the south. During the first half of the eighteenth century, about a hundred thousand Scotch-Irish emigrated from northeast Ireland to North America. Landing upon the sea-coast all the way from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas and Georgia, this sturdy people—whose ancestors had been taken from Scotland to subdue Catholic Ulster, but who were now under royal displeasure—at once sought new and cheap lands. They found these towards the frontier, which was then not far from tide-water.

Gradually, as the pressure upon available land became greater, the younger generations of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish moved southwestward through the troughs of the Alleghanies, either tarrying on the upper waters of the Potomac or pressing on to the deep and fertile valleys of southwest Virginia and North Carolina. The South Carolina and Georgia Scotch-Irish on their part spread northwestward, because the easy southern trails to the west, where the Alleghanies degenerate into the gulf plain, were savagely guarded by English-hating Cherokee. We shall see that these Ulster bordermen, easily developing into expert Indian fighters, formed with the English colonial adventurers and Protestant Germans who commingled with them a highly important factor in the coming battles for English supremacy in the still newer land beyond the mountains.

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liberty of the subject. Massachusetts was always the strongest military colony and the most willing to contribute to warlike enterprises, with Connecticut a close second; this largely because their assemblies, long trained in public affairs, had themselves well in hand, and consequently entertained less fear of royal usurpation of privilege.

As to the soldierly quality of the English provincials, when once in the field, there can be but one judgment. Hampered by their numerous and perplexing separatist tendencies, and their sometimes painful and unmilitary striving after personal independence, they were numerous and possessed of enormous material resources; they came of some of the toughest fighting stock in Europe, and at nearly every vantage-point in the wide and diversified field of operations which we are now to survey in some detail, they acquitted themselves in a manner of which their descendants may well feel proud; though in all combined operations the inefficiency of the diffuse colonial administration, for purposes of war, was painfully manifest.

Under the treaty of Utrecht (1713), France had acknowledged the suzerainty of the British king over the Iroquois confederacy. This important admission had for thirty years been held in abeyance. In June, 1744, it bore fruit. In a great council held with the Iroquois at the Pennsylvania outpost of Lancaster, the latter were bribed and cajoled into formally granting to their English overlords entire

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four,¹ Céleron's report was discouraging. Governor Galissonnière, of New France, accompanied this document by a plea for the shipment of ten thousand French peasants to settle the region before English agricultural pioneers could reach it; but the government at Versailles was just then indifferent to the colony, and the settlers were not sent.

The backwoodsmen of Virginia were not idle, however. Several of them had already explored, hunted, and made land claims in Kentucky. But more important than these was the fact that in 1748, the year preceding Céleron's vain endeavor to drive English traders out of the Ohio Valley, a little group of agricultural frontiersmen from the neighboring valley of Virginia settled permanently at Draper's Meadows, upon New (Greenbrier) River, thus planting the first stake for England upon west-flowing waters.²

In the very year of Céleron's expedition, there was chartered by the British king the Ohio Company, formed for fur-trading and colonizing purposes to the west of the mountains. It was a Virginia enterprise, designed in large part slyly to checkmate Pennsylvania, which, owing to internal dissensions, was tardy in taking steps to settle the Ohio basin. In this corporation were several provincials of social and political influence—among

¹ *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, X., 248.

² On the date of this settlement, see De Hass, *Western Virginia*, 41; Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, 16, 17.

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western Pennsylvania. He met many Scotch-Irish traders, whose centre of operations was at Pickawillany, an Indian village on the upper Miami, at Logstown, on the Ohio, eighteen miles below the forks, and at Venango, on the Alleghany; and for the benefit of posterity he kept an interesting journal of his expedition.¹ His favorable report greatly stimulated English interest in the west.

Meanwhile, the company constructed a fortified trading-house at Wills Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland), near the head of the Potomac; and by the aid of a prominent frontiersman, Colonel Thomas Cresap, and an Indian named Nemacolin, blazed a trail sixty miles long over the picturesque water-shed of the Laurel Hills, to the mouth of Redstone Creek (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania), on the Monongahela, where was built another stockade (1752). This path, which, with some later deflections, was destined to become famous in western history as "Nemacolin's Path," "Gist's Trace," "Washington's Road," "Braddock's Road," and "Cumberland Pike," successively, was at once followed by a few daring Virginia settlers, who planted themselves upon its western terminus.²

There had never been any commonly recognized boundaries between the North American colonies of

¹ First published in 1776, in Pownall, *Topographical Description of North America*. See Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*.

² For details, see Lowdermilk, *Cumberland*; Crumrine, *Washington County* (Pa.); Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, III., IV.

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as a clear outline of the French contention at the height of the war: "France must have at least possession of what England calls Acadia as far as the Isthmus, and re-take Beauséjour; she must have the River St. John; at least leave the River St. John in the joint occupation of the Abenaki and Mikmak Indians. Lake St. Sacrement to France, at least neutral, not to be at liberty to erect forts on Wood creek. England will never renounce Fort Lydius [Edward]. I believe it to be on her territory; to engage her to do so, Carillon [Ticonderoga] must be abandoned. Lake Ontario, Lake Erie to France; the English cannot erect forts on these lakes, nor on any rivers emptying therein. The height of land, the natural boundary between France and England as far as the Ohio; thereby the Apalachies become the boundary for England; the Ohio to belong to France, as well as Fort Duquesne, unless a better fort can be made, and one better located, for Fort Duquesne is good for nothing and is falling. To maintain the Five Nations independent and the Indians towards the River Susquehanna called Delawares (*Loups*), and that neither France nor England have power to erect forts among those people." ¹

¹ Montcalm to De Paulmy, February 23, 1758, in *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, X., 690.

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be followed by another outpost at the Forks of the Ohio, one hundred and twenty miles to the south. Sickness in the camp had, however, prevented so extended an advance that season. The English trading-post of Venango, at the junction of French Creek and the Alleghany, was, nevertheless, seized and occupied by a small detachment from Le Boëuf.

In November the governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, despatched Major George Washington, adjutant-general of the colonial militia, guided by Gist, to remonstrate with the French against occupying a district "so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain."¹ Washington was then a land surveyor, only twenty-one years of age, and represented one of the foremost of the Virginia families. After a dreary and hazardous winter journey over mountains and through tangled forests, Washington and his small party of attendants arrived late in November, first at Venango and then at Le Boëuf. The latter's commandant received the envoy with marked politeness, but returned word to Dinwiddie that he should remain on the ground and await the orders of his superior, the Marquis Duquesne, then governor of Canada.

The Ohio Company, in whose particular interest this mission had been undertaken, was not popular with the Virginia assembly, just then engaged in a quarrel with the governor over land-patent fees.

¹ *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, X., 258.

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ment allowed the use of regulars from New York and the Carolinas. But none of these arrived on the scene until after the crash in July. On the last day of March, disappointed at the non-arrival of the Carolina troops, and hearing nothing from New York, Washington, now a lieutenant-colonel, felt impelled to set forth with his three hundred Virginia frontiersmen, "towards the Ohio, there to help Captain Trent to build Forts, and to defend the possessions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French."¹ His orders were "to be on the Defensive, but if oppos'd by the Enemy, to desire them to retire; if they sh'd still persist, to repel Force by Force."²

Meanwhile, Trent's little company of thirty-three men had in January commenced a stockade at the forks. But in April a force of French and Indians, aggregating more than twenty times their number, aided by eighteen pieces of light artillery, swept down the Alleghany in sixty bateaux and many canoes, and on April 17 compelled the fort-builders to surrender. The prisoners were promptly released without harm, and allowed to retreat to Wills Creek, where Washington met them. Both he and Dinwiddie took the attitude that the forcible expulsion of British troops from British territory was essentially an act of war. The mission to the Forks of the Ohio had now taken on a very dan-

¹ *Journal of Washington* (Toner's ed.), 7.

² *Pa. Colonial Records*, VI., 32.

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routed." In this brief time had been fired a train which led at once to a general conflagration. Washington had discharged the first shot in the French and Indian War, for the Trent affair had been bloodless.¹

The Virginians lost but one killed and two wounded, but of the French ten were killed, one wounded, and twenty-one taken prisoners. Among the French dead was Jumonville. His compatriots at once worked themselves into a frenzy over what they called his "assassination," claiming that he was but bearing to Washington peaceful despatches. There appears to be small basis for such a contention—judicious peace messengers do not hide for days on the flanks of the enemy and act like spies.²

On receipt of the news, Coulon de Villiers, the brother of Jumonville, set out from Fort Duquesne at the head of an avenging expedition, which proceeded in boats up the Monongahela to Redstone Creek; whereupon Washington withdrew to Great Meadows, where he erected a "fort with small palisades." The place was unfit for defence, for on three sides higher ground, heavily forested, approached closely to the stockade. But the Virginians were by this time sorely distressed for provisions, ammunition, and other supplies, and

¹ Washington's "Journal," in *Writings* (Ford's ed.), I., 74, 75, 88, 90. See also Toner's edition, with notes by French authorities.

² *Ibid.*, 77-90; correspondence between Druillon and Dinwiddie, in *Va. Hist. Collections*, I., 225-228.

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ginians "confessing," even unwittingly, to the truth of the former's allegation.¹

The number of French and Indians engaged in this affair is unknown. Their loss was stated by Villiers as two killed—one Frenchman and one Indian; seriously wounded—fifteen French and two Indians; besides many others slightly hurt. Of Washington's three hundred men, he tells us in his "Journal" that twelve were killed and forty-three wounded.

At daybreak of July 4 the "buckskin general"—as the French sneeringly called him—marched out over Nemaquin's Path towards Wills Creek, a toilsome journey of fifty miles across the mountains, the heart-sick officers and men bearing their baggage on their backs and their wounded on stretchers. They were suffered to carry one swivel with them, for defence from the savages who hung upon their flanks, and to spike the eight left behind them in the fort.

The expedition had failed, but through no fault of Washington. An expert frontiersman and Indian fighter, despite his youth, his own part had been well played throughout, with a proper admixture of dash, bravery, and caution, and his men had conducted themselves with commendable coolness. The delay of the Virginia deputies had caused his

¹ Villiers's "Journal," cited in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I., 158, and II., App., 421-423. Synopsized, without reference to the "confession," in *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, X, 260-262.

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enemies of mankind," who had invaded "the undoubted limits of His Majesty's dominion."

None of the assemblies, outside of Virginia and New England, rose to the necessities of the case. Even the Virginia burgesses, seeking to gain concessions from the governor, at first persisted in attaching riders to the grants which were requested from them, until Dinwiddie cried in desperation, "A governor is really to be pitied in the discharge of his duty to his king and country, in having to do with such obstinate, self-conceited people."¹ However, after a protracted wrangle they finally voted him sufficient for his needs. Governor Hamilton, in Pennsylvania, quarrelled all summer with his obstinate assembly, composed in the main of Quaker shop-keepers, whose religious principles were opposed to war, and of peace-loving, thrifty Germans, who wanted but to till their acres, and concerned themselves little whether Frenchmen or Englishmen were their political masters. They told the governor that they were willing to give him £20,000, but on conditions which he could not accept and be faithful to either his proprietors or his king; moreover, some of the members intimated that they did not propose to assist Virginia in pulling her chestnuts from the fire.² The New

¹ Dinwiddie to Hamilton, September 6, 1754, and to J. Abercrombie, September 1, 1754, MSS. in British Record Office.

² *Pa. Colonial Records*, VI., 168, 178, 184-186, 299, 300; *Olden Time*, II., 225.

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ability, and brave as a lion.”¹ It was also ordered that two new regiments of the line be raised in America, with a thousand men each, under the colonelcies of Shirley and Pepperrell—the former, it will be remembered, having sponsored and the latter commanded the expedition against Louisburg in 1745.²

A few wise men had long favored some form of union to secure intercolonial action in great public emergencies. The New England Confederation (1643–1684), which sought to bind together the four northern colonies in “a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions,” was little more than a committee of public safety.³ The first continental conference, held at Albany in 1690, for treating with the Iroquois against the common enemy, has already been alluded to.⁴ It was, however, the government party which usually urged formal unions, and consequently they were unkindly looked upon as a possible vehicle for royal control. Several times during the Indian wars there were held informal neighborhood congresses, chiefly to negotiate with the tribesmen or for common defence; these were principally attended by the official class, and attracted little popular atten-

¹ Fortescue, *British Army*, 268.

² See chap. vii., above.

³ Tyler, *England in America* (*Am. Nation*, V.), chap. xviii.

⁴ Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 89–93; see also chap. ii., above.

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in our day being Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, William Johnson of New York, and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania. Hutchinson and Franklin were respectively the strongest types of the aristocratic and popular parties.

In the last week of June the commissioners met a hundred and fifty Iroquois chiefs in council. Hendrick, a Mohawk sachem, dominated his fellows, and was not slow to taunt the English with the feeble character of their occupation of the country. "Look at the French: they are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But you are all like women, bare and open, without fortifications." The conference was in this regard without tangible results. The chiefs were loaded with presents; but the commissioners not having the power to grant all of the numerous native demands, the tribesmen returned home obviously dissatisfied.

Meanwhile a committee of seven of the ablest men in the congress considered at length a plan of union. This was finally draughted by Franklin upon July 10, and tentatively adopted the same day. Only the New England members were authorized to enter into a definite agreement relative to confederation. It was necessary that the plan be laid before the provinces, and later transmitted to Whitehall for ratification. The scheme provided for the appointment and support by the crown of a president-general, and the formation of a grand, or federal,

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in the democratic form of the constitution, and every assembly as having allowed too much to prerogative." ¹ No further attempts at formal colonial union were made, until out of the stress of the Revolution was evolved the Continental Congress which signed the Declaration of Independence.

¹ *Carey's American Museum* (1789), V., 368; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 149.

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expedition against Montreal; and, lastly, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton was to proceed to the isthmus connecting the Nova-Scotian peninsula with the continent, and by reducing Fort Beauséjour and its dependent stockades to cut off Acadia from New France and render it possible to subdue this hotbed of French-Indian forays against the New England borders.

Military critics now consider that it was a mistaken policy to divide the attack on the French centre by sending expeditions against both Fort Duquesne and Fort Niagara, and that better results might have been obtained had the English assault been concentrated upon the latter. Another undoubtedly just criticism is that Braddock committed a fatal blunder in following Washington's wilderness road to the Ohio, and making Fort Cumberland his principal base. It was a circuitous, rough, and unsettled route, lacking in forage and transport, and affording abundant cover for his foes; whereas, had he proceeded westward from Philadelphia, he would have had the advantage, much of the way, of a settled country abounding in supplies and the means of transport.¹

Virginia was poorly supplied with wagons and horses, for rivers and bays were her principal routes of commerce, so that these had to be obtained in Pennsylvania, where Franklin's prestige alone succeeded in wheedling them out of the reluctant

¹ Fortescue, *British Army*, 270.

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the backbone of the expedition, although these buckskin-clad backwoods settlers, who obeyed only their own popularly elected officers—and those none too well—were as yet held in contempt by the veteran regulars; and fifty Indians, gay in war-paint and feathers, served as scouts, much to the amazement of Tommy Atkins, who was not accustomed to serving with such outlandish allies.¹

Braddock well understood European tactics, and had a fine reputation at home; but he was now amid conditions heretofore undreamed of by him; moreover, he was not an organizer. He wasted just a month waiting for his cannon, so that it was June 10 before he started to cross the divide. Washington's road had to be widened for the artillery and transport wagons. Three hundred axemen cleared the way, but progress was so slow that in eight days only thirty miles had been covered, and men and horses were worn out and ailing. Braddock's deliberateness—for he stopped "to level every molehill and to throw a bridge over every brook"²—was exasperating to the provincials, who realized that haste was necessary.

Sixteen days out from Fort Cumberland, news came that the French had taken advantage of the English delay to throw an additional force into Fort Duquesne, and that a detachment therefrom was awaiting them on the path. On Washington's advice,

¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I., 263.

² Fortescue, *British Army*, 273.

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Braddock. This is not so; what occurred was a regulation forest fight, in which the French and their allies flanked the British on either side, drove them in towards the road, and, from behind the trees or fallen trunks, poured into the struggling, disordered mass of men and horses a withering fire, while they themselves were completely hidden.

Had Braddock left his men to their own devices, it is possible that the day might even here have been saved. The Virginians, as a matter of course, adopted the Indian method of seeking individual cover, and—to use a term now familiar to us, as a product of the British-Boer war—"sniping" the assailants. Many of the British soldiers, no longer contemptuous of the border sharp-shooters, attempted to follow their example; but Braddock, with an utter disregard of self, rode to and fro—four horses being shot under him—deriding his men as "cowardly curs," and driving them with the flat of his sword back into the ranks. Here, in their bright scarlet coats, they were not only mowed down by the enemy like a field of poppies, but their own blind volleys were disastrous to the provincials in front of them. Washington indignantly wrote to Dinwiddie that only thirty Virginians were left alive out of three companies, "while the dastardly behavior of the English soldiers exposed all those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death. . . . Two thirds of both killed and wounded received

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with bullets and who had performed many feats of valor upon the field, to conduct the retreat to Christopher Gist's "plantation" near by, after failing to rally the panic-stricken horde. As for Dunbar, with the heavy reserves, he had (July 2) gone into camp high up on the Laurel Hills. When news came of the cruel disaster in the ravine, panic at once overcame him and his men. Assistance to Braddock was unthought of, ammunition and stores were destroyed by wholesale,¹ and a disgraceful and disorderly flight ensued all the way back to Fort Cumberland.² Among the fleeing wagoners in this sorry rout, riding one of his horses whose traces he had cut, was young Daniel Boone, then a borderer on the uplands of North Carolina.³

Nothing was now left for the decimated advance but to follow the cowardly reserves, which they did in a far more orderly and leisurely fashion; for it was evident that, contrary to the reports of frenzied stragglers, the French and Indians were not pursuing them. Indeed, the latter had, when contemplating the frightful slaughter wrought in the defile, themselves become panic-stricken in their fear of vengeance, and were flying northward almost as fast as the British were scurrying back over the ill-fated path of Nemacolin. July 10, while upon the sad march, Braddock died from his wounds, his last words being, "Another time we shall know better

¹ Orme's account in *Lowdermilk, Cumberland*, 181.

² *Ibid.*, 183.

³ Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, 21.

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the Hudson to the "great carrying place" between that river and Lake George, and here Fort Edward (at first called Fort Lyman), a stockaded storehouse, was commenced. Five hundred men being kept here to complete the work and guard it, a provokingly slow advance was made along the fourteen-mile portage to the lake.

While the provincials were thus wasting time, the French were active. Duquesne had been replaced as governor of New France by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who in the spring (1755) sailed for Canada in company with Baron Dieskau as commander-in-chief and several battalions of regulars. Documents found on the field of Braddock's defeat had given ample information of the English plans of campaign, so that Johnson discovered Dieskau awaiting him near the end of the path with 3573 regulars, Canadians, and savages. Several skirmishes ensued, in one of which five hundred of the English were caught and crushed in an ambuscade, and in another Dieskau was not only defeated but himself wounded and taken prisoner. This advantage, however, Johnson failed to follow up, and, pleading illness, scarcity of food and ammunition, and the undoubted lack of discipline and harmony among his troops, he frittered away his time until the close of November. He built Fort William Henry at the foot of Lake George, but left Crown Point untouched. The expedition was a failure; nevertheless, the home government, probably in

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was embarked on the lake for Niagara the former garrison would cross over and capture his base. Lacking in supplies, which failed to follow him in season—the commissariat and transportation were generally weak, on the English side, through lack of organization—Shirley deemed it inadvisable to attempt this double task, and therefore left for home at the close of October. The only result of his venture was the leaving of a garrison of seven hundred men at Oswego, as a menace to French operations on the Great Lakes.¹

Monckton's expedition against Fort Beauséjour, on the Acadian isthmus, was the only successful enterprise of the season. We have already referred² to the sad condition of the *habitants* and fishermen of Acadia. The treaty of Utrecht (1713) had given them "liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects." But although they were anxious to betake themselves to Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, various obstacles were placed in their path by Lieutenant - Governor Vetch, who represented to the authorities in London that their removal would "wholly strip and Ruine Nova Scotia," and "at once make Cape Brittoun a populous and well stocked Colony" of France.³ Forced,

¹ *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, VI., 953-959, 994-996; *Pa. Archives*, II., 338, 348, 381, 402, 413-437; *N. H. Provincial Papers*, VI., 432.

² See chap. vi., above.

³ Documents in Richard, *Acadia*, I., 73-98.

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bornly upon their diked fields in the long and adjacent tidal basins of Annapolis and Mines, which were then, as they still are, the "garden" of Nova Scotia.¹

The situation was uncomfortable for all concerned. The French authorities, with small regard for the welfare of the Acadians, were using them merely as pawns in the international game. Proceeding on the contention, which was certainly admissible under the clumsy phrasing of the treaty of Utrecht—although long usage was to the contrary—that Acadia meant simply Annapolis and its immediate neighborhood, New France was now claiming the greater part of Nova Scotia. Fort Beauséjour and two or three outlying posts constituted the opening wedge of occupation. The French were using every possible means to inflame the Acadians to attack the Kennebec border while New England was busy in the west, and plans were hatching to concentrate troops at Louisburg for this purpose.² It therefore seemed to the British of the utmost importance that a blow should be struck at Beauséjour, and the threatened inroad prevented. Moreover, from the naval point of view, with Acadia lost, Great Britain's hold upon the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the chief gateway to New France, would be greatly weakened;

¹ Richard, *Acadia*, chaps. xix.-xxvi.

² Shirley's correspondence with the British ministry, in 1754-1755, the originals of which are in the Record Office at London, and are cited by Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, give ample evidence of this.

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Allowed one last opportunity to take the oath of allegiance, the Acadians, inspired by their priests, once more deliberately refused. Thereupon their houses, lands, and cattle were peremptorily confiscated, and nearly seven thousand of them—some-what less than a half of the population of the entire peninsula—were in October packed aboard transports, with little regard for their comfort or health, and unloaded as houseless paupers at various English settlements along the coast, all the way from Massachusetts to Georgia. For the most part they suffered untold hardships before adapting themselves to their new surroundings. Many settled in France, and in Santo Domingo and other West India islands; but nearly all of these eventually (1784-1787), after thirty years of “suffering all the heart-burnings of separation, exile, death, misery in all its multitudinous forms,” found an asylum among the people of their own speech and blood in the then Spanish-dominated province of Louisiana, where their descendants form to-day a distinct agricultural population. Others, upon the return of peace, crept back “in a long and dolorous pilgrimage” to their beloved and once-happy Acadia, to find men of another tongue and race in possession of their homes and flocks and fields, and they themselves compelled to seek shelter elsewhere and begin life anew. The majority, however, were permanently absorbed by the English provinces.¹

¹ Richard, *Acadia*, II., 341, 342, discusses their destination.

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them to take up the hatchet against the decadent red-coats; while it was not difficult once more to egg on the old allies of the French, the painted tribes of the Great Lakes and Canada, whose representatives had revelled in the loot of Braddock's field.¹

Braddock's road, laboriously cleaved through the wilderness to reach the French and the Indians, now proved equally convenient to the latter as a pathway to the English border. Dumas had often six or seven savage war-parties out at a time, "always accompanied by Frenchmen"; and while provincial troops were being massed upon the Niagara and Lake George frontiers, and in far-off Acadia, the summer and autumn of 1755 brought rare misery to the neglected frontiersmen of the middle and southern colonies. In July the commandant at Fort Duquesne could exultantly write to Versailles: "I have succeeded in ruining the three adjacent provinces, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, driving off the inhabitants, and totally destroying the settlements over a tract of country thirty leagues wide, reckoning from the line of Fort Cumberland. . . . The Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age and sex. The enemy has lost far more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."²

Undoubtedly, Dumas did his best to repress the

¹ *Wis. Hist. Collections*, III., 214, 215, VII., 132.

² Dumas to the minister, July 24, 1755, original letter in British Record Office.

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later with fifteen hundred, did what he could to protect three hundred and fifty miles of open border. His command contained many expert riflemen, who understood the art of forest warfare. But they were a turbulent and undisciplined soldiery, electing their own officers, fixing their own terms of enlistment, and proudly disdaining all manifestations of authority that did not appeal to their individual judgments.¹ There was, of course, no attempt among them to uniform, the officers in no wise being distinguished from their men, save Washington himself, who appears seldom to have forgotten the essential insignia of rank, although he declared that the ideal costume for both men and officers was Indian dress.² Attired in fringed buckskin hunting-shirts, leggings and moccasins of the same, and either broad-brimmed felt hats or coon-skin caps, and carrying long, home-made flint-lock rifles, with powder-horn, tomahawk, and scalping-knife dependent from the belt, they probably presented much the appearance of the cowboy scouts of our later Indian wars, save in the crudity of their weapons.

Had the colonies been left alone to defend themselves, without hope of royal aid or direction, no doubt they would have felt forced to unite, and might in time have brought together a creditable

¹ Concerning methods of frontier militia, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*.

² Washington to Bouquet, July 3, 1758, in Washington, *Writings* (Ford's ed.), II., 39-43.

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Virginians in consequence feared to be long absent from home. Desertions were so frequent as often seriously to cripple the little army of defence; and among the rangers in the field it was almost impossible to maintain discipline. One of his officers wrote: "If we talk of obliging men to serve their country, we are sure to hear a fellow mumble over the words 'liberty' and 'poverty' a thousand times."¹

Washington, however, although only twenty-four years of age, was accounted perhaps the most accomplished Indian fighter of his time, as he certainly was the most prominent, and to him the colony looked for the defence of its western frontier. He felt strongly this great obligation resting upon his young shoulders, and fairly pelted the governor, the assembly, and other influential men with letters appealing for necessary assistance. "I am little acquainted, Sir," he wrote on April 22, 1756, to Dinwiddie, "with pathetic language to attempt a description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? I see their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief, than uncertain promises. . . . The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own

¹ Extracts in Washington, *Writings* (Sparks's ed.), II., 145, 154, 159.

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Early in the French and Indian raids, and continuing through several ensuing years (1755-1759), the Virginia and Carolina borderers, under Washington's skilful supervision, erected in the principal mountain-passes or at other vantage-points on either side of the divide a line of stockaded block-houses a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles beyond the main settlements. These were garrisoned by the westernmost fringe of frontiersmen, who in the intervals of raids worked their outlying fields as best they might. Fort Ligonier, on the Loyalhanna, a branch of the Alleghany, was the northernmost; Fort Cumberland, on the upper Potomac, came next, with its memories of Dumas's rout; then Fort Chiswell, on the gentle slopes of the valley of Virginia; Fort Byrd, on Long Island, in the upper Holston, a favorite Indian rendezvous; and finally Fort Loudoun, on the Little Tennessee. Around these several log strongholds, all of them famous in border story, there spasmodically raged throughout the long contest a fierce and bloody warfare, to which, however, we shall hereafter find few occasions to refer. None the less must it be remembered that all the while the larger operations of the war were being waged in the north and north-east. Washington, with his motley but generally efficient corps of riflemen, was hurling back the war-parties of French-guided savages which almost continually sought to break his cordon. His task was quite as important as any, although less heralded,

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the island, and to grant commissions to foreign Protestants in America; Pitt stoutly held that only British soldiers should be employed to fight British battles.¹

Hostilities were finally proclaimed between France and England May 18, 1756, a full year after they had openly commenced. In Europe the contest is called the Seven Years' War, and grew out of the alliance of France, Russia, Austria, and Poland to check the aggressive designs of Frederick the Great of Prussia. England was allied with Frederick, and felt especial enmity against France because the latter was trying to oust her from India and was not a comfortable neighbor in America. The final struggle between France and England for American supremacy is known in our history as the French and Indian War.

It was at last intended by the government at Whitehall, spurred on by the minority, under Pitt, to organize vigorous campaigns, both in the Old World and the New. The Mediterranean fleet was supposedly strengthened, under Admiral Byng; and a defence fund of £115,000 and several regiments of regulars were ordered sent out to Lord Loudoun, the new British military commander in America. The French, less dilatory, struck first, by attacking Port Mahon in Minorca, which was insufficiently garrisoned and supplied. The defence was stubborn; but the French were in better order,

¹ Green, *William Pitt*, 36, 37.

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and had desired to take command in the field; this was, however, denied him by the ministry, and thenceforth there was a sharp antagonism between the two, accentuated by the fact that they were of quite opposite temperaments.

Montcalm had had a brilliant European career; he was scholarly in tastes, entertained noble sentiments, and appears to have been a Christian gentleman. Vaudreuil was said by the general to be "slow and irresolute,"¹ but he generally meant well. His was a petty mind, prone to take offence at trifles, egotistical, wedded to bureaucratic methods, and morbidly distrustful of the officers from France, whom he constantly disparaged in his voluminous letters to the ministry at Versailles. Moreover, he was not above the practice of petty speculation, although more honest than many of his colleagues. To add to the difficulty, the Intendant Bigot, whose real power, as keeper of the public funds, surpassed that of either Vaudreuil or the general, was a vicious rascal, who plundered right and left, and saw no good in those whom he could not use as tools. Poor in purse as he was proud in spirit, inclined to lavish entertainment in the face of growing debt, and at times indiscreetly irascible, Montcalm had a sorry time of it under the thumb of these resident officials, who united only against

¹ Montcalm to the minister, June 19, 1756, cited in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I., 377; incorrectly synopsized in *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, X., 421.

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bands of allied Indians from the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the warriors fluctuating in number from time to time—from the six hundred and fifty at Braddock's defeat to the eighteen hundred or more before Fort William Henry, while probably not over a thousand served at the siege of Quebec. At the height of the war, Montcalm had a nominal command over possibly about twenty thousand men in field, garrison, and reserve; while as many more were supposed to be engaged in irregularly defending the attenuated cordon of log outposts and missionary hamlets stretching between Canada and Louisiana. The actual fighting strength of New France was, however, far less than indicated on the rolls.

We have seen that the British campaign of this year was marked by weakness, induced by governmental delays, provincial dissensions, and the military incompetence of Lord Loudoun. The movements of Montcalm and Vaudreuil, however—for the time being they acted in common—were characterized by considerable energy and tactical skill. While the British were slowly preparing to reinforce Fort Ontario, at Oswego, Montcalm, with a force of three thousand, quickly swooped down upon this important key to the Indian trade of the Great Lakes, and forced it to surrender (August 14) after three days' siege, with its three thousand men and considerable supplies. The relief column, pursuing a leisurely journey thither,

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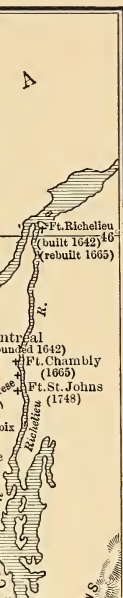
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CHAPTER XIII

A YEAR OF HUMILIATION

(1757)

UNABLE to withstand the general outcry against his mismanagement, the Duke of Newcastle retired in November, 1756, to be succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire. But William Pitt, now forty-eight years of age, was the strong man of the new cabinet, and with his accession as one of the two secretaries of state an entirely different spirit prevailed in the official as well as the popular attitude towards the war. Parliament met early in December. The continental troops imported to assist in British defence were promptly sent home, the militia were strengthened to over thirty-two thousand men, the artillery and the marines were heavily increased, and the island was put in condition to defend itself. Squadrons were despatched to India and the West Indies; nineteen thousand troops, including two thousand Highlanders under their clan leaders—former foes, now for the first time taken into the British service—were ordered to America; and the somewhat fantastic regiments of



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quartering of the British regulars. The provincial troops, enlisted only for particular campaigns, were disbanded and returned to their homes at the opening of winter, necessitating fresh levies the ensuing spring; but the regulars could not be disposed of in this fashion. Lord Loudoun billeted his men upon the inhabitants—the bulk of them in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. With that watchful jealousy of the exercise of arbitrary power, which has ever been a leading characteristic of the English people, perhaps not unmingled in this case with a penuriousness common to the colonists, Loudoun's billets at once aroused opposition. It was argued by the general that billeting was a usage prevalent in England in time of war, and that the troops were here for nothing else than to defend the provinces; moreover, an act of Parliament sanctioned his demand. New York and Philadelphia yielded under pressure of threats, but Boston was settled by the sort of "Britons who never will be slaves," and obstinately stood out on principle. The Massachusetts assembly finally compromised the matter by passing a special act authorizing billeting, thus by implication denying that an act of Parliament could be binding upon them.¹

Devonshire's ministry was high in public favor, but it could not command a parliamentary majority, and at court it had no friends. The king,

¹ Mass. Bay, *Acts and Resolves*, IV., chap. xvi., 47, 48.

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But Pitt's dismissal had for eleven weeks practically disorganized the governmental machinery and consequently delayed all military operations, so that much of the energy characterizing the winter and early spring was dissipated for the present season. In America, Loudoun had early received (January, 1757) one new regiment from a former Newcastle assignment, but there passed many long and weary months before instructions and additional reinforcements reached him. Seven battalions supposed to have been shipped to America in March had at first loitered and then been harassed by ocean storms, so that it was the middle of July before they straggled into Halifax harbor, the proposed rendezvous.

It had been Pitt's intention, acting on Loudoun's advice, to attack Louisburg, and thus again obtain control of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. For this enterprise, the time for which was not yet ripe, the general had unwisely withdrawn the majority of his troops from the northern border, and tarried long at New York ready for embarkation, embarrassed as to his proper course. News reached him of a great French fleet patrolling the Nova Scotian coast; but finally he ventured late in June to start for Halifax, reaching there with his twelve thousand men after a ten days' voyage, without sighting a hostile sail. The long-promised co-operating squadron from England, under Admiral Holbourne, arrived a fortnight later.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Monro, with a force of twenty-two hundred. The French held Crown Point and Ticonderoga; while protecting their base towards Montreal were two other strongholds, forts St. John and Chambly, on the Richelieu.

Late in July, Montcalm assembled at Ticonderoga a formidable war-party of three thousand regulars, a like number of militia, and nearly two thousand Indians — the latter gathered from a wide stretch of territory, extending even to and beyond the Mississippi. The untamed western tribes surprised the officers from France with their “brute paganism,” their music “strongly resembling the cries and howlings of wolves,” and their “decoration with every ornament most fitted to disfigure, in European eyes, their physiognomies. Vermilion, white, green, yellow, and black made from soot or scrapings of the pots; on a single face are seen united all these different colors.”¹

Accompanied by this motley throng, the general suddenly appeared before Monro's camp, and by holding the portage path prevented Webb from coming to the rescue. After suffering three days' heavy bombardment, with no hope of relief, Monro surrendered on August 9, his casualties having aggregated three hundred, while small-pox had broken out among his men.

Montcalm had pledged his Indian allies to desist

¹ Father P. J. A. Ribaud, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXX., 95.

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Montcalm and his fellow-officers, encamped at a considerable distance, rushed into the mêlée at the risk of their lives, and by dint of "prayers, menaces, promises and at last force" succeeded in restoring order. But in the course of the brief turmoil about fifty of the English had been killed and scalped, and some four or five hundred kidnapped by the Indians.¹ The remainder found refuge in the tents of the French, and a few days later, "to the number of nearly five hundred," were, this time under adequate guard, safely forwarded to Fort Edward. The captives were eventually ransomed by Montcalm "at great expense," and carried to Quebec, where they took ship for Boston.

There is no ground whatever for suspecting the French of complicity in this shocking affair; indeed, Father Ribaud's report, which bears the stamp of accuracy, seems sufficient evidence to the contrary. "The Savages," he declares, "are alone responsible for the infringement of the law of nations; and it is only to their insatiable ferocity and their independence that the cause of it can be ascribed." Nevertheless, none better than the French knew the characteristics of these demi-demons; with a force of six thousand regulars and militia at hand, a more efficient safeguard should have been given to the unfortunate prisoners.

¹ On casualty statistics see Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I., 514. We follow Ribaud, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXX., 183-199.

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While these events were transpiring in America, British interests in the Old World were also suffering materially. Among the earliest incidents confronting Pitt on his resumption of power, was news of the Duke of Cumberland's defeat at the hands of the French in the battle of Hastenbeck (July 26), and that commander's pusillanimous agreement to evacuate the country, which Pitt promptly disavowed. The minister, eager to do something to save the year from utter disaster, now allowed himself to be drawn into the enterprise of despatching ten battalions and a powerful fleet against the French harbor fortress of Rochefort, on the strength of an ill-founded rumor that its defences were weak. But on nearing their destination the officers learned that Rochefort was quite ready for them, whereupon (October 1) they discreetly withdrew to meet an infuriated British public that throughout the winter bombarded them with abusive pamphlets.

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first felt their power. He was essentially their representative, and he gloried in avowing it.”¹ But this fact, emphasized by his caustic jibes and often violent attacks on incapacity in high places, rendered him obnoxious to king and court.

His “figure was tall and imposing, with the eyes of a hawk, a little head, a thin face, and a long aquiline nose”;² his carriage was graceful and dignified, and he was exact in his attire. If we may accept the judgment of his contemporaries—for it was previous to the introduction of modern stenography, and we have only synoptical reports of his speeches, and reminiscences of their effect upon his public—he must be ranked with the greatest orators of all times. His style was impassioned; his utterance “was both full and clear; his lowest whisper was distinctly heard; his middle tones were sweet, rich, and beautifully varied; when he elevated his voice to its highest pitch, the house was completely filled with the volume of sound.”³

Pitt was without doubt possessed of foibles and weaknesses; his vanity was monumental; he seldom took counsel of his colleagues; there was “a degree of pedantry in his conversation”; his manner, both in private and public life, was peremptory, impetuous, and often theatrical; his reading was limited, and he knew few subjects thoroughly; frequently,

¹ Lecky, *England*, II., 516.

² Barker, in *Dict. National Biog.*, XLV., 365, art. Pitt.

³ Butler, *Reminiscences*, I., 139.

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exhausted every resource in making it, under the splendid management of Admiral Anson, unquestionably the greatest fighting machine of his day. The sea power of France had, in the previous years of contest, been relatively weaker; and now it fast retrograded, not because of failure in marine architecture or in equipment—for her vessels were generally built on better lines, had stouter rigging, and were more amply supplied than those of England¹—but largely from inferior seamanship. The British people, insular in situation and dependent on a wide-spread commerce for the very necessities of life, contained the largest body of commercial sailors on earth, which constituted a splendid recruiting-field for the ever-expanding navy. In the nature of things, the latter's carefully selected personnel was much superior to that of its competitors, who, failing in skill but not at all in courage, had at their command a much smaller nursery of competent seamen.

For the men themselves, the British naval service was far from a primrose path. The majority of the sailors were recruited by the rude methods of impressment, which made their employment a sort of slavery. Conditions afloat were as unwholesome physically as they often were morally. The work was of the hardest, and the standard of accomplishment exacting. Deaths from illness occasioned by unsanitary surroundings were far more numerous

¹ Wood, *Fight for Canada*, 95.

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Brest, to prevent their ships from getting out to sea; (2) flying squadrons attacked several minor Channel and Atlantic ports and landed marauding parties—a movement intended to keep French troops at home, and thus divert them from Frederick's territory; (3) a fleet in the Mediterranean, near Gibraltar, was designed to prevent the escape to the Atlantic of the French fleet at Toulon; (4) small expeditions were despatched against French colonies in the West Indies and along the African coast; while a squadron in East-Indian waters interrupted communication between France and her Indian possessions.¹ The immediate domestic result of this wide-spread naval activity, by means of which the ships of France were unable to get to sea while her colonies were being battered and her ocean commerce destroyed, was the postponement of the French invasion project for another year.

On her part, New France could hope but for few reinforcements from the mother-land. Domestic affairs were at their worst. Vaudreuil and Bigot continued their cabal against Montcalm, whom the short-sighted ministry should have placed in complete control, but would not. The avaricious Bigot, correctly interpreting the handwriting on the wall, tightened his hold upon the avenues of speculation, by elaborating to the utmost a system of official thievery which extended from Vaudreuil himself down to the commandant of the farthest

¹ Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 172.

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ening foe, he privately, but persistently and unreservedly, reported the rascals to the minister of war. "It seems," he wrote, "as if they were all hastening to make their fortunes before the loss of the colony; which many of them perhaps desire as a veil to their conduct."¹ Convinced at last, for the evidence adduced by Montcalm was complete, that the king and his unfortunate colonists were, in a period of grave public danger, being ruthlessly robbed by the governor and intendant, who had corrupted the official life of New France to its core,² the government at Versailles now pelted them with threatening letters—a futile procedure, for the mischief had been done and the end was near.

Meanwhile, the "tyrants of the sea," as the British were dubbed by continental powers, did not neglect their land forces. The army, now comprising a hundred thousand men, was infused with vigor. Loudoun, detested by Pitt, was recalled from America, which was henceforth to be the centre of British military operations; but his successor, General James Abercromby, was an unfortunate choice. Colonel Jeffrey Amherst, fresh from service in Germany, was also ordered to the colonies with the new rank of major-general, his special task being the siege of Louisburg.³

¹ Montcalm to Belle-Isle, April 12, 1759.

² See Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, II., 35-44, for details of Bigot's rascality and his ultimate trial.

³ Royal instructions to Amherst, March 3, 1758, MS. in Public Record Office.

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the Ohio Valley, with Fort Duquesne as its key; while the Lake Champlain trough was his centre. Louisburg was as well garrisoned as possible, but its chief weakness lay in the lack of strong naval support from France; for Fort Duquesne nothing could be done with the limited means at the general's command; he was, therefore, obliged to concentrate his defence on the centre, his stronghold and base being Ticonderoga, which he occupied in June with thirty-eight hundred well-seasoned regulars.

The British plans of offence were, as usual, three-fold: Brigadier John Forbes, with nineteen hundred regulars and five thousand provincials, was ordered to recapture Fort Duquesne and repair the loss occasioned by Braddock's tragic failure; the centre was to be attacked by Abercromby, ostensibly aided but in reality directed by Brigadier-General Lord Howe, with the relatively enormous force of six thousand regulars and nine thousand provincials; while Amherst, aided by Brigadier-Generals Charles Lawrence, Edward Whitmore, and James Wolfe, was to lead fourteen thousand regulars to the reduction of Louisburg.

Pitt had desired that the siege of Louisburg should not commence later than April 20. But although Admiral Edward Boscawen set sail with the army on February 19, in a fleet strong enough to overpower any possible French squadron in American waters, it was May 9 before his flag-ship reached Halifax, and the 28th before the vessel

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which was the Island Battery, while on the harbor main-land were several outlying batteries of considerable strength—chiefly the Grand, on high land westward, and Lighthouse Point, the northern shore of the inlet.¹

The fortress walls were surmounted by two hundred and eighteen cannon and seventeen mortars; the garrison, under the Chevalier Drucour, comprised thirty-four hundred regulars, seven hundred island militia, and three hundred Indians, besides the inhabitants of the town; and within the harbor were fourteen vessels carrying five hundred and sixty-two guns and manned by crews aggregating three thousand men. As less than ten thousand of the British force were at any time fit for duty, the fighting strength of the besiegers was about twice that of the garrison.

Strong as Louisburg undoubtedly was, experience had already shown the weak spots in her armor. High land, with fair cover of stunted firs and shallow ravines, closely approached the Dauphin's bastion upon the northwest corner, close to the harbor; it was also possible to approach from the eastward, under cover of a projecting ledge which had served as a quarry in the construction of the fort; and from the south, where some firm ground lay between Princess's bastion and the sea; while the French

¹ See plans and details in Bourinot, *Cape Breton*; also list of authorities on the siege, cited in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II., 81, 82.

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bastion by regular trenches; and Wolfe, in addition to his north - side duties, and his assistance to Amherst, was pushing parallels towards the southern end of the walls, opposite Princess's bastion. On July 16 this omnipresent officer made a bold dash which effected an intrenched lodgement on high ground within three hundred yards of the Dauphin's, from which he could not be driven by the furious cannonading that at once greeted him.

On July 21 a shell fell upon and lighted one of the French men-of-war, which, drifting, set fire to two others, all three being burned to the water's edge. The two now left were attacked a few nights later by six hundred British sailors—among whom was a petty officer later world-renowned as Captain James Cook, the marine explorer—who boldly rowed out into the harbor under a storm of shells from the French batteries, captured the crews, and sought to tow the vessels to the outer sea. One of them grounded and was burned by her captors, but the other — the sole remaining ship in the original French fleet of fourteen—was successfully removed.

Gradually the coil of British parallels encircling the great fortress was drawn closer and closer. Amherst's redoubts had badly shattered the bastions, the citadel, the hospital, the barracks, and most of the other principal buildings; while within, the walls were now crumbling under their own fire, several of the batteries being thereby silenced. On the 26th, with scarcely more than a dozen of his

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having, with the fortress, agreed to surrender all their possessions in land, garrisons, and stores upon and around the great gulf. This unwelcome task accomplished, Wolfe, who was quite the hero of the siege, departed for home on sick-leave. Amherst, meanwhile, sailed with five battalions for Boston, where they were received (September 14) with such boisterous enthusiasm that the general complained, "I could not prevent the men from being filled with rum by the inhabitants."¹

As for Louisburg, the inhabitants—chiefly merchants and fishermen, with their families—were eventually removed to the French port of La Rochelle; and two years later (1760) the majestic walls were overturned, for the neighboring British stronghold at Halifax was sufficient for that quarter of the world. To-day the site of this once formidable fortress, which bulks so largely upon the pages of our colonial history, is occupied by a small hamlet of Scotch and Irish fishermen; these eke out their slender incomes by guiding summer tourists among the grass-grown ridges and mounds which—after nearly a century and a half of spoliation, for this cyclopean mass of cut stone is still the quarry of a neighborhood with bounds extending to Halifax—are about all that now remain of the walls and buildings of "the Dunkirk of America"; while under the crumbling arches of those shell-wracked bastions

¹ Amherst to Pitt, September 18, 1758, MS. in Public Record Office.

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it was with difficulty that a panic akin to Braddock's Field was averted. In the course of the skirmish, wherein the enemy were seldom seen, Howe was killed, to the genuine sorrow of every man in the column, for he was universally popular. As for the French, they were caught between two fires, and precipitately fled with considerable loss. With the fall of their real commander, however, the British rapidly became demoralized, for Abercromby could not take Howe's place. "With his death the whole soul of the army expired."¹

Throughout July 8, from nine in the morning until twilight, a furious battle raged in front of Ticonderoga and its outlying breastworks and formidable abattis of fallen trees. Both British and French fought with the utmost spirit and bravery, the contest being compared by experts to Malplaquet and Badajoz. But the British were without a leader, and struck wildly; while the cool and calculating Montcalm, admirably intrenched, and aided by his two best lieutenants, Lévis and Bouchambault, was everywhere, and never to better effect. Under cover of darkness, the blundering and now disheartened Abercromby withdrew with his thirteen thousand men without attempting another attack. His loss had been nineteen hundred and forty-four in killed, wounded, and missing, while the French reported but three hundred and seventy-seven.²

¹ Fortescue, *British Army*, 326.

² Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II., App., 431-433.

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against Fort Frontenac (the modern town of Kingston, Ontario), which lay at the outlet of Lake Ontario. It had been an important vantage-point for the French from the old days of La Salle, and commanded Oswego, Niagara, and thus the lake route to the west. Loudoun had favored the scheme, but Abercromby overruled it; his endorsement was, however, forced by a council of war, held soon after the battle of Ticonderoga.

With twenty-five hundred men, Bradstreet dodged the enemy on the portage trail, returned to Albany, ascended by the Mohawk route to Oswego, crossed the lake, and on August 25 arrived before Fort Frontenac. That stronghold was garrisoned by only a hundred men, while nine small vessels were in the harbor. These fell an easy prize to the adventurous colonel (August 27), who destroyed the fort and all but two of the ships, and returned to Albany exultant.

He had reason to be, for his success was by all means the most important strategical accomplishment of the year: Lake Ontario, one of the two important gateways to the west, was now entirely under British control. Thus Fort Niagara was isolated, and the French could no longer communicate with the Ohio River. Fort Duquesne lay at the mercy of the British advance, which speedily followed. Brigadier Forbes, a Scotch veteran charged with the Duquesne expedition, had arrived in Philadelphia in April, but found no army awaiting him,

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English, return to their homes¹—which is exactly what happened. Meanwhile, the brigadier upon his leisurely progress called a convention of Iroquois, Delaware, Mingo, and Shawnee, which met at Easton in October, and those powerful tribes gave in their adherence to the English.²

The advancing column met with some reverses at the hands of French bush-rangers, but the capture of Fort Frontenac had really decided the situation. The Indians deserted Fort Duquesne, the Canadian militia returned home for the winter, and De Ligneris, the commandant, was left with a garrison of but four or five hundred. When (November 25, 1758) Forbes's advance guard reached the fortress, they discovered nothing but blackened ruins—the walls having been blown up the previous night, and barracks and stores burned; while the defenders had scattered by land and water, some down the Ohio to Fort Massac, others to Presq'isle, and the commander with a small body-guard to Fort Machault, the Venango of former years. With Lake Ontario possessed by the enemy, retreat to Canada was now impracticable.

Montcalm's right flank had thus not only been shattered at two points, but its extremity had been driven into the interior, and, through the loss of

¹ Forbes to Bouquet, August 18, 1758, *Bouquet and Haldimand Papers*, MSS. in British Museum.

² See journals of Charles Frederick Post, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I., 185–291; this missionary was the principal go-between in the British-Indian negotiations of 1758–1759.

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useless. Dissatisfaction and official debauchery were rampant, for Bigot and his fellows were lining their nests in anticipation of the crash that should destroy the evidences of their evil deeds; the fur-trade had been ruined; a financial crisis was at hand. But outside the governmental cabal the people of New France were firm against the common foe; although hard pressed, and with divided councils, civilians and soldiers were willing to contend for their king and their religion to the last.

Marshal Belle-Isle, the French war minister, feared the worst, but admonished Montcalm to at least retain some footing upon North America: "However small soever the space you are able to hold may be, it is indispensable to keep a foothold in North America; for, if we once lose the country entirely, its recovery will be almost impossible." To which the general—the one admirable character in the public life of New France, in these its closing months—replied, "I shall do everything to save this unhappy colony, or die." As for the English, eager and pressing, they were not at all disheartened by the disaster at Ticonderoga. The causes of the failure were patent: Abercromby had stupidly blundered; and it was resolved to avoid his mistakes in another, and it was hoped final, attempt.

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therefor being evident quite early in the year 1759. Fifty thousand men were to land in England, and twelve thousand in Scotland, where the Stuart cause still lingered. But as usual the effort came to naught. The Toulon squadron was to co-operate with one from Brest; Boscawen, who now commanded the Mediterranean fleet, apprehended the former while trying to escape through the Straits of Gibraltar in a thick haze (August 17), and after destroying several of the ships dispersed the others; while Sir Edward Hawke annihilated the Brest fleet in a brilliant sea-fight off Quiberon Bay (November 20).¹ Relieved of the possibility of insular invasion, the Channel and Mediterranean squadrons were now free to raid French commerce, patrol French ports, and thus intercept communication with New France and to harry French—and, later, Spanish—colonies over-seas.

We have seen that in 1757 Clive had regained Calcutta and won Bengal at the famous battle of Plassey. Two years thereafter the East Indian seas were abandoned by the French after three decisive actions won by Pitt's valiant seamen, and India thus became a permanent possession of the British empire.² In January, 1759, also, the British captured Guadeloupe, in the West Indies.³ Lacking sea power, it was impossible for France much longer to hold her colonies; it was but a question

¹ Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 210-214, on Boscawen's victory; 216-222, on Hawke's. ² *Ibid.*, 196-201. ³ *Ibid.*, 201-203.

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Wolfe, whose family enjoyed some influence, had attained a captaincy at the age of seventeen and became a major at twenty. He was now thirty-two, a major-general, and with an excellent fighting record both in Flanders and America. Quiet and modest in demeanor, although occasionally using excitable and ill-guarded language, he was a refined and educated gentleman, careful of and beloved by his troops, yet a stern disciplinarian; and although frail in body, and often overcome by rheumatism and other ailments, capable of great strain when buoyed by the zeal which was one of his characteristics. The majority of his portraits represent a tall, lank, ungainly form, with a singularly weak facial profile; but it is likely that these belie him, for he had an indubitable spirit, a profound mind, quick intuition, a charming manner, and was much thought of by women. Indeed, just before sailing, he had become engaged to the beautiful and charming Katharine Lowther, sister of Lord Lonsdale, and afterwards the Duchess of Bolton.¹

On February 17, Wolfe departed with Saunders's fleet of twenty-one sail, bearing the king's secret instructions to "carry into execution the said important operation with the utmost application and vigour."² The voyage was protracted, and after

¹ For biographical details of Wolfe's early career, see Wright, *Life*, and Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, I., 1-128; in *ibid.*, II., 16, is a portrait of Wolfe's fiancée.

² Text in Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, VI., 87-90.

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due to the skilful management of the navy as to that of the army, the expedition being in all respects a joint enterprise, into which the men of both branches of the service entered with intense enthusiasm.

The French had placed much reliance on the supposed impossibility of great battle-ships being successfully navigated up the St. Lawrence above the mouth of the Saguenay without the most careful piloting. This portion of the river, a hundred and twenty miles in length, certainly is intricate water, being streaked with perplexing currents created by the mingling of the river's strong flow with the flood and ebb of the tide; the great stream is diverted into two parallel channels by reefs and islands, and there are numerous shoals—moreover, the French had removed all lights and other aids to navigation. But British sailors laughed at difficulties such as these, and, while they managed to capture a pilot, had small use for him, preferring their own cautious methods. Preceded by a crescent of sounding-boats, officered by Captain James Cook, afterwards of glorious memory as a pathfinder, the fleet advanced slowly but safely, its approach heralded by beacons gleaming nightly to the fore, upon the rounded hill-tops overlooking the long, thin line of river-side settlement which extended eastward from Quebec to the Saguenay.¹

¹ "Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence," by a sergeant-major of grenadiers, in Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, V., 1-11.

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The "rock of Quebec" is the northeast end of a long, narrow, triangular promontory, to the north of which lies the valley of the St. Charles and to the south that of the St. Lawrence. The acclivity on the St. Charles side is lower and less steep than the cliffs fringing the St. Lawrence, which rise almost precipitously from two to three hundred feet above the river—the citadel cliff being three hundred and forty-five feet, almost sheer. Either side of the promontory was easily defensible from assault, the table-land being only reached by steep and narrow paths. Surmounting the cliffs, at the apex of the triangle, was Upper Town, the capital of New France. Batteries, largely manned by sailors, lined the cliff-tops within the town, and the western base, fronting the Plains of Abraham, was protected by fifteen hundred yards of insecure wall—for, after all, Quebec had, despite the money spent upon it, never been scientifically fortified, its commanders having from the first relied chiefly upon its natural position as a stronghold.

At the base of the promontory, on the St. Lawrence side, is a wide beach occupied by Lower Town, where were the market, the commercial warehouses, a large share of the business establishments, and the homes of the trading and laboring classes. A narrow strand, little more than the width of a roadway, extended along the base of the cliffs westward, communicating with the up-river country; another road led westward along the table-land above. Thus the

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Bougainville headed a corps of observation, supposed continually to patrol the St. Lawrence cliff-tops and keep communications open with the interior; but this precaution failed in the hour of need. The height of Point Lévis, across the river from the town, on the south bank, was unoccupied. Montcalm had wished to fortify this vantage-point, and thus block the river from both sides, but Vaudreuil had overruled him, and the result was fatal. Other weak points in the defence were divided command and the scarcity of food and ammunition, occasioned largely by Bigot's rapacious knavery.

On June 26 the British fleet anchored off the Isle of Orleans, thus dissipating the fond hopes of the French that some disaster might prevent its approach. Three days later Wolfe's men, now encamped on the island at a safe distance from Montcalm's guns, made an easy capture of Point Lévis, and there erected batteries which commanded the town. British ships were, in consequence, soon able to pass Quebec, under cover of the Point Lévis guns, and destroy some of the French shipping anchored in the upper basin; while landing parties harried the country to the west, forcing *habitants* to neutrality and intercepting supplies. Frequently, the British forces were, upon these various enterprises, divided into three or four isolated divisions, which might have been roughly handled by a venturesome foe. But Montcalm rigidly maintained the policy of

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At the end of June the general assembled five thousand provincials and six thousand five hundred regulars at the head of Lake George. He had previously despatched Brigadier Prideaux with five thousand regulars and provincials to reduce Niagara, and Brigadier Stanwix, who had been of Bradstreet's party the year before, to succor Pittsburg, now in imminent danger from French bush-rangers and Indians who were swarming at Presqu'isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango.

Amherst himself moved slowly, it being July 21 before the army started northward upon the lake. Bourlamaque, whose sole purpose was to delay the British advance, lay at Ticonderoga with three thousand five hundred men, but on the 26th he blew up the fort and retreated in good order to Crown Point. On the British approaching that post he again fell back, this time to a strong position at Isle aux Noix, at the outlet of Lake Champlain, where, wrote Bourlamaque to a friend, "we are entrenched to the teeth, and armed with a hundred pieces of cannon."¹ Amherst now deeming vessels essential, yet lacking ship-carpenters, it was the middle of September before his little navy was ready, and then he thought the season too far advanced for further operations.²

¹ September 22, 1759, quoted in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II., 249.

² Official journal of Amherst, in *London Magazine*, XXVII., 379-383.

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ease had cut a wide swath through the ranks. Desperate, he at last accepted the counsel of his officers, that a landing be attempted above the town, supplies definitively cut off from Montreal, and Montcalm forced to fight or surrender. From September 3 to 12, Wolfe, arisen from his bed but still weak, quietly withdrew his troops from the Montmorenci camp and transported them in vessels which successfully passed through a heavy cannonading from the fort to safe anchorage in the upper basin. Reinforcements marching along the southern bank, from Point Lévis, soon joined their comrades aboard the ships. For several days this portion of the fleet regularly floated up and down the river above Quebec, with the changing tide, thus wearing out Bougainville's men, who in great perplexity followed the enemy along the cliff-tops, through a beat of several leagues, until from sheer exhaustion they at last became careless.

On the evening of September 12, Saunders—whose admirable handling of the fleet deserves equal recognition with the services of Wolfe—commenced a heavy bombardment of the Beauport lines, and feigned a general landing at that place. Montcalm, not knowing that the majority of the British were by this time above the town, and deceived as to his enemy's real intent, hurried to Beauport the bulk of his troops, save those necessary for Bougainville's rear guard. Meanwhile, however, Wolfe was pre-

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British general," declared Horace Walpole, "belonging to the reign of George the Second, who can be said to have earned a lasting reputation."¹ Montcalm, mortally wounded, was carried by his fleeing comrades within the city, where he died before morning. During the seven hours' battle, the British had lost fifty-eight killed and five hundred and ninety-seven wounded, about twenty per cent. of the firing-line; the French lost about twelve hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, of whom perhaps a fourth were killed.²

Torn by disorder, the militia mutinous, the walls in ruins from the cannonading of the British fleet, and Vaudreuil and his fellows fleeing to the interior, the helpless garrison of Quebec surrendered, September 17, the British troops entering the following day. The English flag now floated over the citadel, and soon there was great rejoicing throughout Great Britain and her American colonies; and well there might be, for the affair on the Plains of Abraham was one of the most heroic and far-reaching achievements ever wrought by Englishmen in any land or age.³

¹ Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, II., 237.

² *Ibid.*, II., 332, with detailed British returns; Wood, *Fight for Canada*, 262.

³ For detailed description of the siege, consult Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, II., III., and documents in IV.-VI.

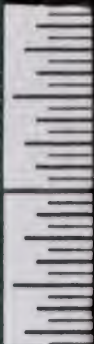
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part in ruins, thievery was rampant, disorder prevailed on every hand, and the general demoralization was heightened by a shortage of provisions, for the country round about had been denuded of subsistence material. Wood-cutting was a pressing necessity, the supply coming from the forest of Ste. Foy, four miles away, whence the soldiers hauled the loaded sleighs, for no horses were to be had. The troops suffered greatly from insufficiency of clothing, lack of proper quarters, and unwonted exposure to arctic conditions; frost-bites were common, and the unsanitary conditions, combined with the almost exclusive use of salt meats, induced scurvy, dysentery, and fevers, which frequently resulted in death. By the last week of April, 1760, no more than three thousand of Murray's men were fit for duty. Of the dead there were six hundred and fifty, most of the bodies having been preserved in snow-banks, awaiting burial after the spring thaw.¹ Yet it has been asserted that of the six hundred women attached to the British garrison during this frightful experience not one had died and but few were ill.²

Conditions might doubtless have been softened had Murray been provided with adequate funds for the purchase of supplies from the *habitants* in the interior, many of whom were disposed to be politic

¹ Public Record Office MSS., *Return of the Forces*, April 24, 1760; Kingsford, *Canada*, IV., 362.

² Bradley, *Fight with France*, 360.



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snow, which soon was trampled to liquid mud, well-nigh knee-deep. The young and impetuous Murray had been over-confident, both he and his men having under-estimated the fighting capacity of the French; they were fairly worsted after a two hours' fight, and obliged to leave their guns on the field, but their retreat to the city was orderly. The British loss was eleven hundred and twenty-four killed and wounded, a third of the force engaged, while the French are supposed to have lost two thousand.¹

For nearly a fortnight the situation looked desperate to Murray. Half of his twenty-four hundred men reported fit for duty were in wretched condition, being, as one of them wrote, "half-starved, scorbutic skeletons."² But their lesson had been learned, and they now set to work with feverish activity to repair the defences. In the face of this determined attitude Lévis did not, despite his superior forces, push the attack, and in his hesitation waited too long. Between May 9 and 16 three frigates arrived from England, which brought not only blessed relief to the hollow-eyed garrison, but destroyed Lévis's ships in the river and their cargoes of military stores. On the latter day, being vigorously attacked by Murray and the entire strength of the garrison batteries, the French precipitately retreated, leaving forty

¹ Kingsford, *Canada*, IV., 368-371.

² Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II., 352.

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fund of patience on the part of Amherst, and much delicate management, to bring it all about. A misstep might readily prevent the desired conjunction, and then Lévis would have had a fair chance to annihilate each column in turn.

Murray moved first. July 15 his little army of two thousand four hundred and fifty men embarked in forty boats, bateaux, and other transports, escorted by three frigates and a numerous flotilla of smaller craft,¹ followed a little later by one thousand three hundred men from the now dismantled fortress of Louisburg, under Lord Rollo. With a keen watch of scouting parties ranging the banks, and disarming the *habitants* as he went along, Murray's progress was slow. At Sorel, east of Montreal, Bourlamaque and Dumas lay intrenched on both banks with a force of four thousand, but offered no resistance. Judiciously displaying harshness towards enemies, but kindness towards non-combatants, Murray persuaded half of their men to disarm and take the oath of neutrality, the others following the fleet along the shore, hoping that when Montreal was reached the British would find themselves embarrassed between two fires. August 24 he arrived at Contrecoeur, eighteen miles below Montreal, and went into camp to await his colleagues, who were not long in arriving at the island.

Haviland, whose troops had suffered greatly

¹ Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 227, 228; Knox, *Campaigns in North America*, II., 344, 348.

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the most dangerous experience was the descent of the rapids, an undertaking involving great care and bravery; as it was, sixty boats were wrecked or damaged and eighty-four men drowned. On September 6, the very day of Haviland's arrival—so carefully timed had been the concentrating movements of the British—the fleet glided triumphantly to the shore of Lachine, at the head of the great rapids, nine miles above Montreal. The troops marched unopposed to a camp outside the western gate of the shabby little town, whose ill-constructed stone walls were proof against Indians, but presented a sorry defence to the attack of civilized soldiers with artillery.

Vaudreuil, Bougainville, Bourslamaque, and Roquemaure — the last-named the commander of Fort St. John—were now confronted by seventeen thousand British, well supplied with cannon and stores; while they could muster behind their weak fortifications barely two thousand five hundred—practically all of them regulars, for the militia had deserted, but “demoralized in order, in spirit, and in discipline.”¹ There were provisions for but fifteen to twenty days,² the Indians had characteristically gone over to the stronger side, the Canadians were disheartened and now for the most part disarmed and sworn to neutrality, and further struggle seemed useless.

September 7, Bougainville waited on Amherst

¹ Fortescue, *British Army*, 399.

² Lévis, *Journal*, 303.

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In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the prisoners of war, the chief civil officers of New France, a great part of the Canadian *noblesse*, and the leading merchants departed (September 13-22) for Quebec, whence a month later they left for France. Upon reaching Paris, Vaudreuil, Bigot, and their rascally confederates were imprisoned in the Bastille for fraud and malfeasance in office. When brought to trial in December, 1761, they made a sorry spectacle before the court, with their mutual criminations. Vaudreuil was acquitted for lack of legal proof; Bigot was fined one million five hundred thousand francs, his property confiscated, and he was banished from France for life; others, a score in number, received various sentences, their dishonesty in the end profiting them but slightly.¹

The Canadian peasantry, and such of the regulars as chose Canada for their home, settled down under their new political masters, and in time became happier and more prosperous under the new flag than they had ever been under the old. Amherst had detailed General Gage to be governor of Montreal, General Ralph Burton was made governor of Three Rivers, and Murray continued in charge of Quebec. To them was left the administration of a policy of kindness to the unfortunate *habitants*, who were protected against the Indian allies of the conquerors, allowed to conduct their own affairs with the least possible interference, and accorded a considera-

¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II., 385.

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CHAPTER XVII
THE TREATY OF PARIS
(1760-1763)

THE war for British supremacy in North America was at last practically over. The intermittent struggle between France and England, which in India had lasted for fifteen years, was in 1760 rapidly drawing to a close, as garrison after garrison of the French throughout that great peninsula was being reduced. On the European continent the coils were gradually tightening around France. At the close of the military season of 1760, perhaps the most triumphant year thus far known to British arms, George II. passed away (October 20). With the accession of George III., who was bent on peace almost at any price, the official influence of the pugnacious Pitt began to wane, and indeed did not last a twelvemonth; although the confidence placed in "the people's minister" by Englishmen at large was unimpaired. Newcastle's power was still predominant in the cabinet; but the man of the hour, destined soon to succeed the foremost statesman of his time, was the Earl of Bute, a weak, commonplace person, who, through the favor of the princess

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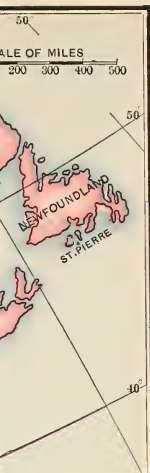
believed that Spain's over-sea dominions would suffer so soon as France had been driven from North America. Moreover, he had many specific complaints of his own; for Great Britain, in vigorously searching for enemy's property on neutral ships, had not respected the Spanish, nor indeed any other neutral flag. During 1758 "not less than 176 neutral vessels, laden with the rich produce of the French colonies, or with military and naval stores, to enable them to continue the war, rewarded the vigilance of the British Navy."¹ The British held that contraband of war might freely be sought in neutral bottoms, and that her paper blockade of French ports was to be respected by all. This attitude was cause sufficient for the growing unpopularity of England on the continent.

Pitt was not long in discovering the existence of the Family Compact. Indignantly breaking off communications with France, he proposed at once to declare war against Spain, hoping to gain advantage from the latter's unprepared condition. But under Bute's lead the king and the cabinet refused to follow him in this extreme measure, and the great commoner therefore resigned, October 5, 1761, declaring that "he would not continue without having the direction."²

After three months, Spain thought herself strong enough to carry a high hand, and became so insolent

¹ Campbell, *Lives of British Admirals*, V., 70.

² Green, *William Pitt*, 185.



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by frightful losses to the British—one thousand in killed and wounded, and five thousand deaths from illness, for the plague had broken out in the army. Because of this havoc in the ranks, a contemplated attack on the French in Louisiana was countermanded.¹

Meanwhile, the French, taking advantage of the withdrawal of British troops from Canada, sent out from Brest a small squadron against Newfoundland, which was surrendered by a still weaker garrison on June 27; the island was, however, retaken by the British on September 18.² The allies had sought to coerce Portugal into joining them, but an English fleet and army drove them back into Spain.³ In the first week of October the Philippine Islands were surrendered to an expedition which sailed from Calcutta on September 1 and easily captured Manila and the island of Luzon. A ransom of \$4,000,000 was promised by the Spanish for the return of the archipelago; but as the indemnity was not mentioned in the subsequent treaty of Paris, it was never paid.⁴ At the same time English vessels captured several heavily laden Spanish treasure ships bound from the Philippines to Mexico and Peru. The loss of Manila meant the cutting off of Spain from Asia, and the fall of Havana severed

¹ Fortescue, *British Army*, 536–544; Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 242–250.

² Kingsford, *Canada*, IV., 493–495; Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III., 250, 251.

³ Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 315, 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 316, 498; Fortescue, *British Army*, 545.

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been more carefully conserved. Bute and the king exhibited undue haste at peace-making. To this spirit of complacency was attributable the surrender to the French of Gorée, Guadeloupe, and Martinique; also the grant to them of fish-drying rights on the west and north shores of Newfoundland, as under the treaty of Utrecht (1713), and the setting apart of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon "to serve as a shelter for the French fishermen"—although French fishers must not approach within fifteen leagues of the island of Cape Breton or other English coasts.

During the peace negotiations, in the summer of 1762, the question was raised among the representatives of England whether it were worth while to hold New France, some contending that it would be more profitable to retain instead the sugar-producing island of Guadeloupe. Canada, it was argued, was valuable only for its fur trade; were it to remain in the possession of France, the English continental colonies, hemmed in to the Atlantic slope, would have a standing menace at their back door, admonishing them to remain dependent on Great Britain. England was plainly warned by foreign statesmen, who had watched the growing spirit of independence in America, that she would lose her colonies "the moment Canada should be ceded." Franklin's statement, however, that the colonies were so jealous of one another that there was "not any danger of their uniting against their own

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dred thousand livres a year, without yielding a sou in return," and now, with an amusing air of magnanimity, proposed to turn it over to Spain.¹ But the latter claimed the territory as her own, on the ground of prior discovery, French occupation having only been "tolerated by Spain," and was not at first disposed to accept it back again as a gift—indeed, she plainly showed that she did not care for this vast and untamed wilderness.

In his generosity, however, Louis XV. overlooked this reluctance, and on the very day (November 3) when the preliminary articles with England were signed, in a personal letter solemnly conveyed Louisiana to the court of Spain, as a partial recompense for what the war had cost his beloved ally; and nine days later Charles III., apparently with some hesitation, accepted the act of cession. His Catholic majesty thought fit to explain to his Council of the Indies that in taking on this costly charge he "was inclined to accept" because the Mississippi would form an excellent natural boundary to Mexico; because smuggling from Louisiana into Mexico would now be stopped; because if Spain did not take the territory Great Britain might feel impelled to do so, and then it would be "fortified by the English at our very back"; and in general, it was not good policy to offend France.² This private transaction

¹ Choiseul to Ossun, September 20, 1762, in *Polit. Sci. Quarterly*, xix., 447.

² *Ibid.*, 455-457.

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able West Indian islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery," said Pitt, "we have given to her the means of recovering her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable at sea."¹ The unpopular compact was forced through Parliament only by a scandalous course of governmental intimidation and bribery.² Notwithstanding this opposition, however, England, as a result of the Seven Years' War, had in four continents made tremendous strides in imperial prestige, as well as added enormously to her realm. Her present greatness then received its principal impetus.

The contest between French and English for supremacy in North America had been inevitable. In speech, thought, and aims, the two races were widely separated. Each had aspirations of extensive empire, and one could not grow without hampering the field of the other. The struggle was long impending before it came to an issue; but in the end the race best suited to conquer the wilderness won. That the victory should have taken place before the walls of Quebec was accidental. Had not Wolfe scaled the Heights of Abraham, another leader in some later year would doubtless have led the English to success; the result was merely a question of time. Considering the circumstances, it was in the nature of things that the

¹ Green, *William Pitt*, 206.

² *Ibid.*, 199, 200; Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 322, 323; Kingsford, *Canada*, IV., 499.

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was irresistible; the great west was theirs, and they proceeded in due time to occupy it.

English institutions, having defeated French, were now put to another test. The western savages, unconquered allies of France, must now be pacified before the English could enter into full possession of the Ohio and the upper lakes. An uprising under Pontiac, head-chief of the Ottawa, in 1763, was the last act in the drama. The natives did not look kindly upon the treaty of Paris, and proposed to assert themselves by destroying the new masters of their ancient domain. "The English shall never come here so long as a red man lives," was the message sent by them to the Illinois French, who were nothing loath to encourage the uprising, if the Indians would do the fighting; for it was plainly foreseen by them as by the Indians that English rule meant that the wilderness was not much longer to remain a fur-trading Arcady, that the old life in the west must soon become a thing of the past. While taking no part in the war, there was no hesitation on the side of the French in hinting that their "great father," now strong again, was preparing to recapture the country, and Pontiac would but prepare the way.¹

The conspiracy was active from Niagara and the Alleghanies on the east to Lake Superior and the Mississippi on the west. Throughout the summer

¹ Moses, *Illinois*, I., 124, 125; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I., 174, n.

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lish North American colonies were twenty-three in number, grouping the West Indian islands as one province. Of these Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, what is now New Brunswick, Hudson Bay, and the two Floridas had but a feeble population; Quebec was French in all but government. The thirteen colonies most distinctly English in institutions and sentiment had, notwithstanding the king's proclamation restricting them to the coast, a new opportunity of territorial and industrial development. In their hands lay the future of the entire region between the Mississippi and the Atlantic.

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include Oregon or any other lands westward of the Rockies;¹ neither was Texas a part of this broad domain.² Spain never acknowledged that France possessed any rights in Texas, La Salle's colony in 1685 being considered but a temporary and unintentional settlement; and even after she acquired Louisiana, Texas was governed as a separate province. As for the claim of the United States to the northwest coast, it lies not in the purchase of Louisiana territory from France in 1803, but on discovery from the sea by Captain Gray (1792), the Lewis and Clark expedition (1805), the settlement of Astoria (1811), the acquisition of the rights of Spain (1819),³ and actual colonization in later years.⁴

The population of Louisiana at the close of the great war was probably thirteen thousand whites, of whom three thousand were in the present Indiana and Illinois, and the remainder in Lower Louisiana, leaving out of account as attached to Canada the three thousand or more people in Detroit and its trading-post dependencies on the upper lakes. New Orleans, both from its position and the superior character of its people, was

¹ Marbois, *Memoirs*, IV., 275; *Am. Hist. Review*, IV., 445; letter of Jefferson (1803), in *Writings* (Ford's ed.), VIII., 261-263; Henry Adams, *United States*, II., 6.

² Ficklin, "Was Texas Included in the Louisiana Purchase?" in *Southern Hist. Assoc., Publications*, V., 384-386.

³ J. Q. Adams to Rush, in *Am. State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V., 791.

⁴ Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (*Am. Nation*, XII.).

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We have seen¹ that Detroit and the posts on or near the Great Lakes and the upper Ohio had passed into possession of their new owners within a year of the fall of Montreal. East and West Florida were taken over by British troops in the autumn of 1763, as soon as possible after the signing of the treaty of Paris. It had been deemed essential to penetrate to the Illinois at the earliest opportunity, in order to give to the savages visual evidence of Great Britain's power; but owing to the Pontiac uprising British soldiers found their road thither blocked by the confederated tribesmen. Several expeditions were sent out, but they met with persistent opposition, and occupation was delayed for two years.

The settlement of Ste. Geneviève, on the western side of the Mississippi, about twenty miles below Fort Chartres, was planted certainly as early as 1741-1742, and tradition places the date at 1735.² It soon became of considerable importance in the fur trade. The hamlet was visited early in November, 1736, by Pierre Laclede Liguist, a successful trader, who had ventured up the river from New Orleans in a barge laden with goods for Indians and settlers. Finding no room there for his projected trading-post, he selected the site of the present St. Louis. While spending the winter at Fort Chartres, news arrived of the treaty of Paris, which much disheartened the Illinois French, for they had hoped

¹ See chap. xvi., above.

² Scharf, *Saint Louis*, I., 65.

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began to trust that France might continue in possession. But Captain Thomas Sterling reached Fort Chartres October 10, 1765, with a hundred veteran Highlanders. Presenting Gage's proclamation,¹ he received from the reluctant commandant full "possession of the country of the Illinois." After hauling down the last French flag to float on the American main-land east of the Mississippi, St. Ange retired to St. Louis with his little garrison, now numbering some twenty men. There, without further warrant than the common consent of the French inhabitants, he served as acting governor until 1770, when Captain Pedro Piernas arrived from New Orleans to assume charge of Upper Louisiana as Spain's lieutenant-governor.²

Early in 1765, at a time when it was still hoped in New Orleans that Spain might not, after all, assume control, the chief citizens of Lower Louisiana met in New Orleans, and draughted a petition to Louis XV. not to sever them from France; but the messenger despatched to Paris was informed that restitution was impossible.³ The first Spanish governor-general, Don Antonio de Ulloa, arrived at the then shabby little capital of Louisiana, March 5, 1766, accompanied by ninety soldiers, and took command of public affairs, although there was no formal transfer. A man of some excellent parts, and

¹ Text in Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*, 361.

² Billon, *Saint Louis*, 27-30, 128.

³ Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*, 368.

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only when the yoke has been imposed." The following summer there arrived at New Orleans Don Alexandro O'Reilly, newly appointed governor-general and commander of the province, backed by a frigate and twenty-three transports, with three thousand soldiers. The chiefs of the revolution were arrested, several of them shot, and others confined in the castle at Havana.¹

Under Ulloa, French political methods had been retained; but O'Reilly introduced Spanish law and governmental machinery, and instituted a cabildo. Execrated by the colonists because of his unnecessarily harsh treatment of the revolutionists of 1768, although otherwise a man of good judgment, "Bloody O'Reilly" was succeeded in 1770 by the mild and humane Unzaga, who soothed the creoles into a fair measure of contentment with Spanish rule. He was followed seven years later by the conciliatory and consequently popular Galvez, who materially aided the cause of the American revolutionists by dealing severely with English traders on the Mississippi, while at the same time Americans were permitted to purchase munitions of war in New Orleans and ship them by river to Fort Pitt.

When Spain declared war against England, in 1779, Galvez assembled a military force of six hundred and seventy men, mostly French, and in a brief but brilliant campaign conquered the English settlements of Manchac, Baton Rouge, and

¹ Fortier, *Louisiana*, I., chap. x.

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swollen marshes of eastern Illinois, French volunteers were an important element in his command; and when that post was captured, February 24, 1779, the Vincennes *habitants* at once entered into full fellowship with the conquering "Big Knives."¹

In May, 1780, the English commandant at Mackinac sent an expedition consisting of "Seven Hundred & fifty men including Traders, servants and Indians . . . in an attack on the Spanish & Illinois Country." After a mild demonstration against St. Louis, the principal feature of which was the burning of outlying cabins, the raiders returned by various routes through Illinois and Wisconsin. "They brought off Forty-three Scalps, thirty-four prisoners, Blacks and Whites & killed about 70 Persons. They destroyed several hundred cattle, but were beat off on their attacks both sides of the River."²

This enterprise was soon replied to by the Spanish, who in January, 1781, despatched a force of sixty-five militiamen—over half of them French—under Don Eugenio Pourré, against Fort St. Joseph, near the present Michigan town of Niles. After a weary midwinter march of four hundred miles across Illinois and northern Indiana, the small English garrison at St. Joseph was, together with a consider-

¹ Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest, etc.*, 27-63; see also Van Tyne, *American Revolution* (*Am. Nation*, IX.), chap. xv.

² *Wisconsin Hist. Collections*, XI., 151-156.

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discontent in Kentucky, fomented by Spanish intrigues. All manner of schemes were advanced, varying with men's temperaments and ambitions. Filibustering expeditions against the Spanish were first proposed. Then (1788), when this did not appear practicable, men like George Rogers Clark were willing to join hands with Spain herself in the development of the continental interior—and, indeed, many Kentuckians, allured by promises of large land grants, settled on Spanish territory to the west of the great river, as did Daniel Boone and his kindred in 1799. In 1793 and 1794 Clark was ready to help France oust Spain from Louisiana.¹ These several projects illustrate the unrest which animated the trans-Alleghany region throughout some twenty years of its formative period.² In 1795 the free navigation of the Mississippi was granted to the Americans by treaty. But under the governorship of Lemos (1797–1799) friction arose with the United States over that official's arbitrary regulations regarding American commerce through the port of New Orleans; the trouble blew over, however, and under Governor Salcedo amicable relations were resumed.

All this while life among the French, both in Upper and Lower Louisiana—the number of Spanish was always small, and almost wholly confined

¹ Bassett, *Federalist System* (*Am. Nation*, XI.).

² Full treatment in Turner, "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report*, 1896, pp. 930–1107.

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which was corruptly managed in every department of the service, remained a considerable expense to Spain as it had been to France.¹

Reflecting upon the tragic story of the ousting of France from North America, the great Napoleon deemed it possible to rehabilitate New France to the west of the Mississippi, thus not only reflecting glory upon the mother-land, but checking the United States in its westward growth. He therefore coerced Charles IV. of Spain to retrocede Louisiana to France by the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, signed October 1, 1800—a cession supposed by Spain to be but nominal, but intended by Napoleon to be permanent.² There was, however, no formal transfer at the time. Three years later (April 30, 1803), Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States for \$15,000,000. His object was evident: the war-chest of France needed replenishment; during his projected war with Great Britain the latter's all-powerful navy might readily seize the capital of his far-off colony, and invasion from Canada was entirely practicable; moreover, by giving her great American rival the opportunity to expand its bounds westward, England's ambitions thither would be checkmated. Spain, whose dominion, despite the treaty of 1800, had not yet been disturbed, first formally transferred the province to France, November 30, and on

¹ Pontalba, "Mémorial," cited in Fortier, *Louisiana*, II., 208-213.

² Becker, in *La España Moderna*, May, 1903; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (*Am. Nation*, XII.),

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CHAPTER XIX

CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

WHILE not a formal bibliography of New France, a considerable list of books on the subject is given in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., 1896-1901), LXXI., 219-365. Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., 1888-1889), V., 420, 472, 560-611, is full, useful, and suggestive, but only includes material published to 1887. J. N. Larned, *Literature of American History, a Bibliographical Guide* (1902), 106-110, 391-405, 410-421, is a convenient introduction to the sources and literature. Channing and Hart, *Guide to the Study of American History* (1896), §§ 87-91, 131, 132, is brief but serviceable. The numerous and sometimes extended bibliographical notes in the twelve volumes of Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America* (complete ed., 1898), are of great value, but often lack definiteness in the matter of location of sources. The "Bibliography of Fellows of the Royal Society of Canada," in that society's *Proceedings*, XII., 1-79, is useful, for therein are listed many monographs on Canadian history, both in French and English. On the specific topic indicated by the title of the work, an elaborate bibliography will be found in Doughty and Parmelee, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham* (6 vols., 1901), VI., 151-319.

Special bibliographies will be found in other volumes of the *American Nation* series, as follows: On early dis-

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A brief, convenient, and impersonal manual of the subject is H. H. Miles, *History of Canada under French Régime* (1872). Justin Winsor, in his *Cartier to Frontenac* (1894) and *Mississippi Valley* (1895), studies New France largely from the side of exploration and cartography; very useful for reference, but rather unreadable. A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America* (15 vols., 1903-1905), especially II.-V., has much of importance on trails, trade-routes, and war-paths. Useful general suggestions of a like character are obtainable from Ellen C. Semple, *American History and its Geographic Conditions* (1903).

GENERAL COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES

There are several collections of prime importance. That edited by Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, etc. (6 vols., 1879-1888), has chiefly to do with explorations, and is invaluable for La Salle's operations—but Margry is not above suspicion of having “doctored” some of his La Salle MSS. in order to prove his own historical contentions. O’Callaghan and Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* (15 vols., 1853-1883), cover the entire period of the French régime, with especial reference to intercolonial relations. The *Collection de documents relatif à l’histoire de la Nouvelle France* (4 vols., 1883) is general in character. Important series are those printed in Douglas Brymner, *Reports on Canadian Archives* (24 vols., 1874-1903): the Haldimand Collection was published in 1884-1885, Bouquet Collection in 1889, Murray Correspondence in 1890, Nova Scotia documents in 1894, Siege of Quebec material in 1895, and the Moreau-St. Méry Collection in 1899. Of general value, although specifically in the field of Jesuit missions and explorations, are R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, cited above. P. G. Roy, *Bulletin de Recherches Historiques* (9 vols., 1895-1904), contains much of a general character; so also the Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions* (1st series, 12 vols., 1882-1893; 2d series, 9

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the Late Province of New York (2 vols., 1830), is also a contemporary writer.

Topographical and social data are obtainable from Edmund Burke, *An Account of European Settlements in America* (2 vols., London, 1757); Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1778)—although Professor E. G. Bourne, in a paper read at the Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association (December 29, 1904), casts doubt on the authenticity of this work; Thomas Hutchins, *Journals of 1760* (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, II., 149); Thomas Jefferys, *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North America* (London, 1760); and Robert Rogers, *Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765).

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES AND CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

John Montessor's "Journal" of the Louisburg siege and "The Journal of an Officer at the Siege of Louisburg" are in New York Historical Society, *Collections* (1881), 151, 179. T. Pinchon, *Memorials on Cape Breton* (London, 1760), is also a valuable contemporary account.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections* (11 vols., 1879-1900) contain much documentary material on Acadia. So also Gaston du Boscq de Beaumont, *Les derniers jours de l'Acadie* (1899), and T. B. Akins, *Selections from Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (1869).

Doughty and Parmelee, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham*, already cited, is a comprehensive and invaluable collection of documentary material of every description, connected with this event. There are also several journals of the siege of Quebec in the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, *Historical Documents* (5th series, 1840-1877).

General operations in the St. Lawrence valley may be studied in *Siege of Quebec and Conquest of Canada in 1759, by a Nun of the General Hospital* (1855); H. R. Cas-

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ume I., of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (31 vols., 1904), may be studied for conditions on the extreme English-Indian frontier. William M. Darlington, *Gist's Journals* (1893), is invaluable. So also J. M. Toner, *Journal of Colonel George Washington, 1754* (1893); W. C. Ford, *Washington's Writings* (14 vols., 1889-1893), I., II.; A. T. Goodman, *Journal of Captain William Trent* (1871); *Dinwiddie Papers* (Virginia Historical Society, *Collections*, III., IV., 1883-1884); N. B. Craig, *Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo* (1854); and "Letters of Orme, on Braddock's Defeat," in *Historical Magazine*, VIII., 353. "Recollections of Augustin Grignon" (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, III., 195) throw light on the operations of western Indians at Braddock's defeat. The *Captivity of Hugh Gibson, 1756-1759* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3d series, V., 141) illustrates conditions in the Ohio valley.

On the French régime in the old northwest in general, but the upper lakes especially, consult Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Historical Collections* (30 vols., 1877-1901), especially X., XIX.; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (17 vols., 1854-1905), especially V., XVI., XVII.

The Pontiac conspiracy may profitably be studied in James Bain, *Henry's Travels* (1901). Thomas Morris, *Journal, 1764*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I., gives his thrilling experiences on the Maumee towards the close of Pontiac's war.

Southern documents of the period will be found in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections* (5 vols., 1857-1897), and B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (1st series, 5 vols., 1846-1853; 2d series, 2 vols., 1869-1875).

Besides the New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia colonial records and archives, above mentioned, the student of intercolonial politics should consult *Archives of the State of New Jersey* (22 vols., 1880-1900), particularly VIII.; *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* (10 vols., 1856-1860), particularly V., VI.; G. S. Kimball, *Correspondence*

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to repeat. A few have, however, been selected, some of which are not mentioned in the foot-notes of this volume, with which the student will find it desirable to become acquainted.

In *Revue Canadienne*, particularly I., IV., X., XVI., are articles by E. Rameau de St.-Père on colonial administration in New France; also by the same authority is *France aux Colonies* (1859). Military history is well summarized in J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army* (3 vols., 1899), and naval in W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (7 vols., 1897-1903). Canadian conditions are summarized in P. A. de Gaspé, *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863).

The standard history of Newfoundland is D. W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (1895). On Acadia, the latest authority for the side of the *émigrés*, is Edouard Richard, *Acadia* (2 vols., 1895), written in English. An excellent account, in French, is E. Rameau de St.-Père, *Une Colonie féodale en l'Amérique* (2 vols., 1889). James Hannay, *History of Acadia* (1879 and several subsequent editions), is the standard English authority outside of Parkman's works. The chief authorities on Cape Breton and the siege of Louisburg are J. G. Bourinot, *Historical and Descriptive Account of Cape Breton* (1892), and R. Brown, *History of the Island of Cape Breton* (1869). On the siege of Quebec, consult Doughty and Parmelee, above cited, and Ernest Gagnon, *Le fort et le château de St. Louis* (1893)—less local than the title indicates. The Hudson Bay region may be studied in Beckles Willson, *The Great Company* (1899), and George Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1900).

On the New York frontier, see *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, III., 11; J. R. Simms, *Frontiersmen of New York* (2 vols., 1882); and F. W. Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier* (1901). On the Pennsylvania frontier, see *Report of Commission to Locate the Sites of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania* (2 vols., 1896). The war and conditions in the Ohio valley may be studied in T. J. Chapman,

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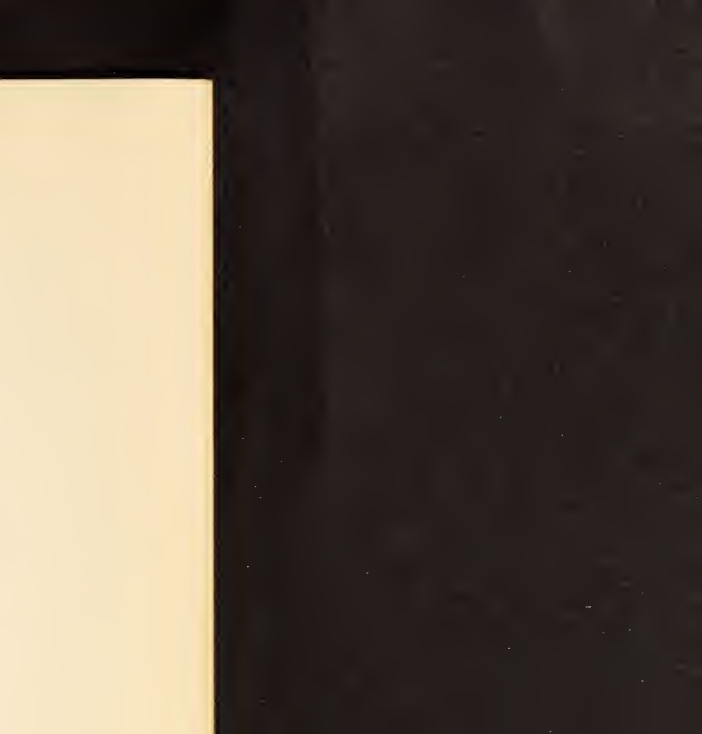
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